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The ARENA

THE WORLD'S LEADING REVIEW

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXVII.

JUNE, 1902.

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CAUSES OF THE PHILIPPINE WAR.

SOME months ago a prominent United States Senator was reported as saying that the real cause of the Philippine war was "the ignorance of the people." We have been led by our national vanity to believe that we are much superior to other nations, and such a statement strikes us at first with surprise and displeasure. But, upon sufficient quiet and cool reflection, candor obliges us to confess that there is considerable truth in it.

Even those who believe we are the peculiar people of God, and, therefore, know more than other nations, and are entitled to direct and control them, may learn wisdom from the history of an ancient people who claimed to be the offspring of God, and who had wise men, prophets, and priests for their teachers. No people ever assumed for themselves a greater ascendancy in morals and religion, and in the favor of the Almighty, than the Jews. And yet God, speaking through the mouth of the great prophet, said of them: "My people are destroyed through lack of knowledge: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee. . . . As they were increased, so they sinned against me: therefore will I change their glory into shame." "Israel doth not know; my people will not consider." And Christ wept over their great city Jerusalem, saying: "If thou hadst known, even thou in this thy day, the

things that belong to thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes."

The apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, drew a memorable indictment against the Jews for their treatment of Christ, whom they had "taken and by wicked hands had crucified and slain." Afterward he said that through ignorance they did it, as did also their rulers. This ignorance was wilful and wicked. They had abundant means of learning the truth, but perversely refused to do it. In the case of Stephen, their ignorance became brutal and ferocious. They "gnashed on him with their teeth," and stoned him to death. The result of such criminal ignorance was the destruction of themselves and of their country.

In view of this history, no one need be startled or aggrieved that a leading public man should ascribe the origin and popularity of the Philippine war to the ignorance of the American people: an ignorance that sometimes, as in the case of Senator Platt of Connecticut, so far involves their rulers that they do not understand the Declaration of Independence.

A good illustration in point may be drawn from the Presidential canvass of 1900. In the discussions of that year, some of the most popular and influential speakers took the ground that the purchase of Louisiana by the Administration of Mr. Jefferson, in 1803, and the subsequent treatment of that Territory and its people by the Government of the United States, and the acquisition of the Philippine Islands and the treatment of their people by the Administration of Mr. McKinley, were substantially the same; and some of them went so far as to say the two cases were "exactly alike." They used this argument with a popular effect that nothing but an almost total want of information upon the subject could have made possible.

"If the Louisiana Territory, at the time of its purchase, had contained eight or ten million inhabitants; if they had been fighting many years for freedom, independence, and self-government, and part of that time as allies of the United States; if, at the time of the purchase, they had nearly achieved their independence; if they never consented to the purchase, refused

to acquiesce in it, and declared their determination to be free and independent and to govern themselves—there would be considerable similarity between the cases. But none of these conditions were present in the Louisiana case, and it fails entirely as a precedent for the other.”

The fallacy of this argument was often exposed during the canvass and subsequently, by writers and speakers. Among others, it was thoroughly done by Mr. Mead, of the *New England Magazine*; and it was briefly done by Ex-Senator Edmonds, in the following words*:

“In the Louisiana instance, the military, civil, and judicial powers existing at the time of the cession, and none others, were to be administered. In the Philippine instance, all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the islands were to be administered. In the first case, existing laws were to be executed; in the second case, any and all laws thought necessary by the President were to be set up and executed. The contrast between the essential principles and the actual grants of power to the President in the two Acts could not be more complete. In Louisiana, Congress adopted the existing laws and merely changed the personnel of the administrators. In the Philippines, Congress adopted no law at all, but deposited all power in the agents of the President.”

The fact that millions of men still cling to an error that has so often been exposed is a remarkable instance of the stubbornness of the people when their mistakes are founded on “a lack of knowledge.”

Another instance of the lack of knowledge in the people is the belief they have always had and still have that the war with Spain was just and necessary, and in accordance with the law of nations. It will not require a lengthy examination to expose this error.

The volume entitled “Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898,” which was published about twelve months ago, contains four hundred and twenty-seven pages that are entirely devoted to Spain. The first half of it, beginning with the letter of instructions of Secretary of State John Sherman to Gen. Stewart

**North American Review* for August, 1901, page 152.

L. Woodford, the new Minister to Spain, dated July 16th, 1897, and ending with the Proclamations of the President of the United States blockading the Cuban ports and calling for volunteers, of April 22d and 23d, 1898, contains all the facts necessary to an understanding of the case.

For some reason this book was not given to the public till about three years after the correspondence it contains took place. It has now been accessible about a year.

Some statements of fact and some quotations from the official correspondence will here be appropriate and instructive.

In closing his letter of instructions above referred to, Secretary Sherman says: "All that is asked or expected is that some safe way be provided for action which the United States may undertake with justice and self-respect, and that the settlement shall be a lasting one, honorable and advantageous to Spain and to Cuba, and equitable to the United States. For the accomplishment of this end, now and in the future, our Government offers its most kindly offices through yourself."

Mr. Woodford began his labors as Minister to Spain about the middle of September, 1897. It was a difficult and trying position, but by patience and perseverance he had nearly reached "the accomplishment of the end" required by his instructions in a peaceful and satisfactory settlement, when his efforts were frustrated and defeated by the very authority under whose instructions he was acting, as will appear from the following extracts.

On the 17th day of March, 1898, Mr. Woodford wired a message from Madrid to the President, in which he says, truthfully, "I have worked steadily and persistently for peace," and asks "permission to treat . . . should the opportunity ever be presented." On the 18th he wires the President a long letter, which, taking it all together, is decidedly encouraging, and in which he says "my faith in settlement gets stronger." On the 19th he wires again and says: "If you will acquaint me fully with general settlement desired, I believe Spanish Government will offer without compulsion and upon its own motion such terms of settlement as may be satisfactory to both

nations." The President's answer of March 20th, through Mr. Day, is not responsive in letter or spirit, and is much better calculated to promote war than peace. He does not acquaint Mr. Woodford fully with the general settlement desired, and winds up with a threat to "lay the whole question before Congress"; which action all the world knew would result in war.*

The natural and almost unavoidable inference from these papers is that the President had put his ear to the ground and heard the crazy, popular cry for war; had yielded to it, and concluded as he said "to lay the whole question before Congress," which he knew would make war, instead of leaving it in the hands of his faithful and indefatigable Minister, who was almost certain to make peace. However, a week after, the President seems to have experienced another change. On the 27th day of March, by his instructions, Mr. Day sent to Mr. Woodford the following exceedingly important telegram, which will be found on pages 711 and 712 of the book in question:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, Sunday, March 27, 1898.*

"Believed the *Maine* report will be held in Congress for a short time without action. A feeling of deliberation prevails in both houses of Congress. See if the following can be done:

"*First.*—Armistice until October 1. Negotiations meantime looking for peace between Spain and insurgents through friendly offices of President of the United States.

"*Second.*—Immediate revocation of reconcentrado order so as to permit people to return to their farms, and needy to be relieved with provisions and supplies from United States coöperating with authorities so as to afford full relief.

"Add, if possible—

"*Third.*—If terms of peace not satisfactorily settled by October 1, President of the United States to be final arbiter between Spain and insurgents. If Spain agrees, President will use friendly offices to get insurgents to accept plan.

"Prompt action desirable.

"DAY."

On page 746 appears the following telegram from Mr. Woodford to Mr. Day:

*See page 692, "Foreign Relations, 1898," for these two remarkable messages.

"MADRID, April 9, 1898.

"ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAY, *Washington*:

"Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs has just sent for me. The Representatives of the European powers called upon him this morning and advised acquiescence in Pope's request for an armistice. Armistice has been granted. Spanish Minister in Washington instructed to notify our Department of State and yourself. Authority has been cabled to General Blanco to proclaim armistice. I sent verbatim memorandum just handed me by Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs as follows: 'In view of the earnest and repeated request of His Holiness, supported resolutely by declarations and friendly counsels of the representatives of six great European powers, who formulated them this morning in a collective visit to the Minister of State, as corollary of the efforts of their Governments in Washington, the Spanish Government has resolved to inform the Holy Father that on this date it directs the general-in-chief of the army in Cuba to grant immediately a suspension of hostilities for such length of time as he may think prudent to prepare and facilitate the peace earnestly desired by all.'

"I hope this despatch will reach you before the President's message goes to Congress.
WOODFORD."

On the next day, April 10th, Mr. Woodford telegraphed directly to the President (page 747):

"I hope nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present Government is going, and is loyally ready to go, as fast and as far as it can. With your power of action sufficiently free you will win the fight on your own lines."

This final effort of his faithful Minister in favor of peace was not heeded by the President. He had put his ear to the ground again; had again heard the insane popular clamor for war; had been finally overcome by its fierceness and persistence; and the next day, April 11th, sent a "war message" to Congress. He thus took the matter out of the hands of Mr. Woodford, who, according to all the indications, would, in a short time, have secured by treaty with Spain virtually all for Cuba that he had originally demanded, and turned it over to a body that he knew was in favor of war. That body took the matter up immediately and in a few days passed a series of resolutions that were tantamount to a declaration of war against Spain; and war followed, as intended by the resolutions and the message that preceded them.

Mr. McKinley, who thus took part in making the war, was a man of good personal character, of excellent domestic virtues, and his taking off was a foul and abhorrent deed. But these things do not change the nature of his Administration, nor consecrate the errors of his foreign policy.

The authorities applicable to the record that the United States has made against itself in the matter of the war against Spain are abundant and conclusive. A few only will be cited here.

Phillimore says: "It is the bounden and most sacred duty of every State to exhaust every means of redress before it has recourse to the dreadful necessity of war." (Phillimore Int. Law, Vol. 3, p. 60.)

Chancellor Kent says: "War is not to be resorted to without absolute necessity, nor unless peace would be more dangerous and more miserable than war itself. . . . Every pacific mode of redress is to be tried faithfully and perseveringly before the nation resorts to arms." (Kent's Commentaries, Vol. 1, p. 48.)

Vattel says: "Whoever entertains a true idea of war—whoever considers its terrible effects, its destructive and unhappy consequences—will be ready to agree that it should never be undertaken without the most cogent reasons." (Vattel's Law of Nations, p. 301.)

Hannis Taylor, in his recent work on "International Public Law," in discussing the subject of war, says: "In no event should force be used till all other means have been exhausted."

Woolsey and other high authorities are to the same effect.

Among statesmen, Washington held that nothing but "*im-
perious necessity*," and Clay said that nothing but "*dire neces-
sity*," would justify war.

This principle of international law, which is so well established, is founded in humanity, reason, and religion, but it was entirely disregarded in our dealings with Spain. The record referred to and quoted above shows that there was no "*absolute necessity*," nor in fact *any* necessity, for war. It shows that "every pacific mode of redress" had not been "*tried faith-*

fully and perseveringly" before we resorted to arms. It shows that when the negotiations between the two countries were about to succeed, and end in a peaceful settlement of all questions, including the rights of the Cubans, by treaty, they were brought to an abrupt termination by the President and Congress, and war was unnecessarily and voluntarily inaugurated by the United States, notwithstanding a note to the President from the representatives of the six great powers of Europe, including England, earnestly deprecating it.

While in the light of the foregoing facts and principles it is clear that the war against Spain by the United States was unnecessary and unjust and a violation of the law of humanity, the law of nations, and the Divine law, "Thou shalt not kill," it is a melancholy truth that a very large proportion of the people of the United States did not know this at the time the war was made by the President and Congress, and do not know it now. This want of knowledge is not confined to uneducated and "plain people," but pervades all classes, of every profession and pursuit.

If it be said in extenuation that the correspondence between Spain and the United States was withheld from publication for three years after it took place, it may be answered that it has now been published and accessible for a year, and that Messrs. Woodford and Sherman, who were parties to it and knew all about it, told the people of the United States four years ago, as from their own knowledge, that there was no necessity for war with Spain, as all questions with her might have been settled without.

This great people, which claims to be favored of Heaven and led by Providence, the Israel of modern times, neglected its opportunities for information, blindly followed its political leaders, and encouraged them to cry havoc, and let slip the dogs and wolves and tigers of war. Of us it may be said, as of God's ancient people, "Israel doth not know; my people will not consider."

A third example of the ignorance of the people upon the subject of this war is the fact that they have always regarded

the Philippine speculation as a good one, and laden with large profits to the Government and people of the United States in the near future. It certainly is a good thing, pecuniarily, to those Americans who have been appointed to offices in those islands, with large salaries, which are paid by the Filipinos; and it may prove to be profitable to Mr. Hull of Iowa and other Congressmen and speculating citizens. But there never was any reasonable probability that it would pay the Government and people of this country for its enormous cost in a hundred years. Indeed, Chief Justice Foster, a very clear and able writer, demonstrated in an article published in *THE ARENA* nearly a year ago that the United States Government could not make by the acquisition of those islands the \$200,000,000 which the Philippine war had then cost, with interest on the outlay, in two hundred years. The outlay has now reached between three and four hundred million; and, by the same reasoning, the acquisition cannot be made to repay the money in three hundred years.

Senator Teller, in his speech in the Senate, on February 13th, made this matter very plain; and Gov. Taft, "the Satrap of the Western Provinces," in his testimony before the Investigating Committee of the Senate, admitted that his principality was a bad investment for the United States.

The great mistake of this speculation will be more evident if we consider that the money thus wasted would have reclaimed enough of our arid lands to make homes for many millions of our people, which would be worth more to our country in one year than those islands can be in a century.

Such mistakes by the people as those we have specified, and others, contributed largely to the popular feeling in favor of making the war originally, and they are largely responsible for its long and disgraceful continuance. But a want of knowledge in the mass of the people is by no means the only reason for the making and relentless prosecution of that war. A lack of principle generally, and especially among intelligent men, is quite as responsible for its origin and continuance, and for its support by so many of the people, as a want of knowl-

edge. For it is a humiliating truth that, among a large proportion of the leaders and formers of public opinion in this country, the real question, as many of them admit, is not a moral or political one, but the commercial one: Will it pay? These men want those islands for the profit they suppose can be made out of their possession and control by the United States, without regard to questions of right or wrong. These questions they consider outside the domain of business and practical politics, and mere matters of theory. There is nothing new or strange in this view of the case. It always has been the view of that character of men in all countries, and especially in England and America.

In her report of an interview in London last July with the late John de Block, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, of Boston, says:

"He has little to say about arguments based on justice. 'Most English people, like other people, do not think about justice,' he remarked; they ask only, 'What will be useful?' And he thinks ethical endeavor thus far has accomplished little in converting men to peace. His effort is confined to showing men of common sense, not that warfare shows them to be unchristian, but that it shows them to be fools."

So far as this goes, it is correct. But what *is* strange is the fact that Christianity in nineteen hundred years has not been able to eradicate this folly and wickedness, and that professedly Christian rulers, in direct violation of the command, "Thou shalt not kill," will slaughter for territory or trade or tribute, in cold blood and without remorse, thousands of their fellowmen—and that many of them will do this in the name of humanity, civilization, and religion.

An able and discriminating English writer of the last century, in speaking of the imperviousness of the people to the plainest dictates of reason and religion, says:

"There is no saying *what* a civilized and Christian nation (so called) may not tolerate. Recollect the slave trade, which, with the magnitude of a national concern, continued its infernal course of abominations while one generation after another of Englishmen passed away; and the united illumina-

tion, conscience, and power of the country maintained as faithful a peace with it as if the Divine anger had been apprehended against whatever should threaten its molestation. This is but one of many mortifying illustrations of how much the constitution of our moral sentiments resembles a Manichæan creation, how much of them is formed in passive submission to the evil principle acting through prevailing custom—which determines that it shall but very partially depend on the real and most manifest qualities of things presented to us, whether we shall have any right perception of the characters of good and evil.

"The agency that works this malformation in our sentiments needs no greater triumph than that the true nature of things should be disguised to us by the very effect of their being constantly kept in our sight. Could any malignant enchanter wish for more than this—to make us insensible to the odious quality, not only *though* these things stand constantly and directly in our view, but *because* they do so? And while they do so, there may also be placed, as if close by them, the truths that *show* their real nature, and might (it would have been supposed) have prevented all deception; and these truths shall be no other than some of the plainest principles of reason and religion. It is as if men of wicked designs could be compelled to wear labels on their breasts, wherever they go, to announce their character in conspicuous letters; or nightly assassins could be forced to carry torches before them to reveal the murderer in their visages; or as if, according to a vulgar superstition, evil spirits could not help betraying their presence by a tinge of brimstone in the flame of the lamps. Thus evident by the light of reason and religion shall have been the true nature of certain important facts in the system of a Christian nation; nevertheless, even the cultivated part of that nation, during a series of generations, shall have directly before their sight an enormous nuisance and iniquity—yet never be struck with its quality; never be made restless by its annoyance; never seriously think of it."

It would be difficult to find a more terrible indictment than the foregoing, drawn by an Englishman against "a series of generations" of his countrymen; yet every reader of English history knows it to be true. And it is also true that the same charge can be safely made against "the cultivated part" of this nation to-day.

We justly boast of the wonderful progress that we have made in the last century in science, art, literature, and in almost every department of human learning. But we cannot boast of any recent advancement in politics or morals or in devotion to the rights of men. In these respects both rulers and people have deteriorated, and the course of our Government for the last few years has been reactionary and opposed in principle and practise to the methods of its great founders and preservers. Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln would be entirely out of place among the men who now govern this country, and could not commingle and agree with them politically a single day. Their fidelity to political and moral principle would be represented as treason to their country.

SAMUEL C. PARKS.

Kansas City, Mo.

THE LATE CECIL RHODES.

I. HIS AIMS AND IDEALS.

THE testament of Cecil Rhodes has been aptly termed "Cæsar's Will." It is not alone the largess bequeathed by him to the English-speaking race that will bring about a reaction in common opinion regarding the man whose body lies now in the hills of Rhodesia, but men will be forced by the large ideas expressed in the will to feel, as only those who knew him long and personally know, that all his actions—good, bad, and indifferent—were rooted in one grand conception: the Federation on democratic lines of the four great English-speaking divisions of the British Empire. Even this large idea had become wider in Rhodes's mind before he died, for it is written between the lines of the will that his eye ranged far beyond the present bound of practical politics to a time when the great Federation should embrace not only the British commonwealths and dominions but the United States of America and possibly the Socialized German Empire.

Balked as he was in realizing the lesser of these great ideas, he seems to have been stimulated by his own failure in this to sketch the larger plan. "A Federal Parliament, five years in Washington and five in London," is now the scale of measure. And among his last words were these: "So little done; so much to do!"

Now, what Rhodes's ideal was in the days before the Jamestown raid I had from his own lips in the early eighties. From his first arrival at the diamond mines to join his brother, whose claims adjoined mine, and through the long period of the incubation of his idea until he was finally launched on his career of exploiting the industries of South Africa, I was an intimate business associate of Rhodes, and thus had many facts on which to base my inferences as to his aims and the means he would be likely to adopt to attain them.

This first ideal was a Federation of all the interests of the British world on the basis of an improved United States Constitution. As a first step he hoped to bring all the South African States into harmonious confederation in such a way that they should be independent of the Colonial Office in Downing Street. He would then have a fulcrum on which to work for a larger scheme. The tie would be loosened until Great Britain and an amalgamated South Africa could be reunited into a larger whole, each on equal terms with the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australasia. India and the tropical dependencies or Crown Colonies of the superseded Empire would be "Protectorates" under the rule of a great Federal Parliament. This Federal Parliament, as Mr. Rhodes sketched it to me, was to be an entirely new body. The oft-mooted plan of "Colonial Members" in a House at Westminster had no place in it. On the contrary, the British dominions should send their representatives to the new Anglo-Saxon Parliament on equal terms with the rest of the constituencies. The existing British Parliament should confine its attention to "home" legislation—should become in fact a State Legislature, and leave all matters concerning the Imperial Commonwealth to the new Federal Ministry.

The reigning House might furnish this new organic whole with a hereditary titular President with an automatic authority, which might be regarded, as it now is, as both potential and impotent. It would at any rate be a living seal for the final reference of validity. There would be a Federal Cabinet, wholly responsible to the Federal Parliament, the members of which would be themselves responsible to the unit they represented.

To effect this stupendous revolution—to transform at a stroke the Imperial idea into the idea of a true Democracy embracing half the world—Rhodes relied on his power to mold all South Africa into such a shape that he would be able to say to the Imperial Ministry, "Concede to us dominion, or ——?" That was to be the first step. Having thus obtained "dominion" for South Africa, he would then make

Canada and Australasia parties to his project, and would doubtless find support in Ireland and in the by-that-time rejuvenated Liberalism of England.

Those who value Benjamin Kidd's study of "Western Civilization" will see that this great plan lies in the path of evolution. In Rhodes's mind the Old World idea of the State as representative of existing interests alone has passed away, and the center of the evolving drama is projected into the future. But Rhodes reckoned without Kruger and the obstinacy of Old World ideas. Under the influence of the astute Dr. Leyds, backed by the Hollander adventurers in finance and politics, and in the last event under the ægis of one or another of the European powers, Kruger's ideas took the form of a scheme of South African nationality diametrically opposite to that of Rhodes, and, as far as the horizon extended, as large. In the mind of Oom Paul, South Africa was to be the arena of a Netherlands Empire drama. As soon as dogged insistence could get rid of the sole tie that bound them to Great Britain (the troublesome word "suzerainty," which curtailed all dealings with foreign powers), the two republics were to form an alliance with one or more European States. Not only Transvaal and the Orange Free State were to be Netherlandsized, but the whole of South Africa.

It takes a little thought to realize this idea of a Netherlands Empire. Some of us are too likely to consider the Dutch nation as too well content with the prosperity of Batavia and the wealth of Java and Sumatra to remember that Admiral Van Tromp once sailed up the Thames with a broom at the mast-head, and that the mention of "New Amsterdam," Capetown, and the East Indies recalls to the Dutch mind the days when they had the best start for empire beyond the seas. But those accustomed to see with the eye of the historian that great wars arise not *out* of trifles but only *about* them, have long realized that this Boer war was at bottom a race struggle, though precipitated by immediate causes connected with taxes, concessions, gold, diamonds, and pompons.

For a few years Cecil Rhodes believed that, by means of

the Africander-bund of which he was for a time the idol, he could make head against and finally swamp Kruger and his Hollanders. He had the sympathy of a very large party in the Transvaal—strong in that it consisted mainly of the pure Boer element led by General Joubert and Justice Kotze of the Supreme Court. Moreover, before Steyn got into power, the Orange Free State was quite in line with the true Africander idea. As Joubert said on one memorable occasion: "We are Africanders, not Hollanders. Africa is our mother-country, not Holland. The language we speak is *Africansche*, not *Hollandsche*."

The Africander-bund had, moreover, the secret of modern colonial democracy—the feeling that links with a mother-country must be wholly sentimental to be adamant. The Africanders were therefore less inclined to a Netherlands than to a British Empire, for they could contrast British rule in Cape Colony and Natal with Krugerism in the Transvaal. There were many of Kruger's young Africanders who felt aggrieved that nearly all the officers and concessions in the Transvaal, which the President had once encouraged them to fit themselves to hold, had under the influence of Dr. Leyds and under the new conditions arising from the development of the mines been made over to the imported *Nederlanders*. On the top of this tide of Africanderdom Rhodes rose to the Premiership of Cape Colony.

For a time he schemed against his rival Kruger with success; and finally, by means of the prevailing discontent,—on which he had indeed poured no oil, having got the "Reform" movement in Johannesburg well under way,—he believed that he was nearing his immediate goal of South African consolidation. The result of the Reform agitation was to be the building up of a broad and liberal democracy on the ruins of the oligarchic and "Netherlandesque" republicanism of the two Dutch republics. Even in Cape Colony there was room for more progressive ideas, and British control might be made a shadow that cast no shade. When the psychological moment had come, South Africa from Table Bay to the Portuguese

boundary could be engineered into amalgamation as easily as diamond mines.

This is just how things stood in Cecil Rhodes's mind up to and during the year 1892. It was then that Paul Kruger stole the Presidency from Joubert by the method of "counting out." Joubert was urged to head a revolution by arms. He declined, saying that, palpable as was the theft of his right, gross as was the tyranny against the numerical majority of the voters, yet he would not for such a cause raise brother's hand against brother.

We can fix this moment as the time when whatever secret doubts Rhodes may have had as to the practicability of his ideal scheme took shape, and "the current turned awry." Rhodes's plea for the native-born was dropped for a while in favor of Imperial Opportunism. Judging by recent events, it was not that he lost faith in his ideal but that he foresaw that a period of Imperialism pure and simple was a necessary stage in its evolution. Whatever his inward thoughts, he now by means of his agents began those diplomatic or backstair negotiations with the British Ministry about which so much has been asserted and so much denied. Was it "the stormy petrel of the Foreign Office," the Colonial editor of the *London Times*, or the demure young lady who knew the ins and outs of South African politics (and the only woman who could meet Rhodes on his own ground, or for whom he had a corner in his scheme of life),—was it Miss Flora Shaw who tempted Rhodes from his scheme of "Africa for the Africans?" *Quien sabe?* The fact remains that at this point the policy changed, and Miss Shaw became the link between Rhodes and Chamberlain.

Whatever the reasons for Rhodes's change of attitude, the mischief lay in his not disclosing the change to the Johannesburg Reformers. Worse than this, he only gave a half-confidence to Dr. Jameson. A study of the evidence makes it probable that Jameson felt that for obvious reasons his principal meant him to act without orders. At any rate, he made the famous raid on his own responsibility, with the historic

result: "My God! Jim has kicked over my apple-cart!" Kruger and Leyds had now the very excuse they needed for rushing *their* scheme by force of arms. The link of "suzerainty" was snapped; and when before the Parliamentary Committee Rhodes declared that he had acted all through, not for Africander but entirely for Imperial ends, Africanderdom united itself under the banner of Kruger. The Reformers wanted as before a purely South African amalgamation, but Rhodes looked above their heads and saw in the sky the little cloud of Imperial annexation. On the surface the fact was too palpable that he had betrayed his co-conspirators.

From that time till now Rhodes's name has been under a cloud, which even his bravery at the post of danger in Kimberley failed to dispel. The instinct of his judges tells them that this act of betrayal must be explained before he can be put on a pedestal. However great the ends, a Metternich policy is discredited in the modern world. Yet Mark Antonys will not be wanting; and when what remains of Cecil Rhodes has lain for a long time in "The View of the World" (the name of the mountain where Rhodes lies buried), he may be revered as the "Father of a South African Commonwealth."

Meanwhile we must recognize that Rhodes's *methods* were those of the business-man pure and simple. "I never met the man I could not square, and I will square the Mahdi," said he, when putting his scheme for the Cape-Cairo wire before a group of capitalists. "Square and conquer" was his motto. It was thus that in the early eighties he made his first great political stroke. He had persuaded the British Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, to fling the mantle of "Protection" over the Hinterland of South Africa. Troubles arose; Rhodes got himself sent up as "Commissioner of Bechuanaland." The filibusters from the Transvaal had seized on several hundred square miles of the richest part of Bechuanaland. In exchange for a compact severing them from their native republic, Rhodes guaranteed them "British titles" to the farms stolen from the Bechuanas. It was from this vantage-ground that he sprang at his long-dreamed-of prize—Rhodesia, a vast territory, the

richest in all South Africa, as it will one day prove. When he first came to the diamond fields to join his brother, he at once left our beaten track of working in "pay-ground" and staked out for himself and selected associates a low-grade "barren" tract, despised by "experts" but indispensable, as he foresaw, to the deep working of the adjoining De Beers. From this "barren" Hinterland he finally annexed the riches of the De Beers, became the dictator of the Company, and laid the foundation of his power. The poor son of an English clergyman meant to have wealth just as the young French ensign meant to have an army. And both meant to use the power when it came.

We thus have Rhodes the arch-materialist, as many paint him, and the visionary Utopia-builder, as many will paint him; ruthless in pursuit of gain, and caring nothing for gold; cursed as the cause of war, yet looking to the reign of universal peace;—and the paradoxes are explicable. In all his enterprises, however vast, he used to the full the licensed business-morality of the present day—a code that will doubtless be restricted as our evolution progresses, but that so far has seemed indispensable to great consolidations, political and economic. But in Rhodes's case business consolidations were a step to wealth, and wealth to the acquisition of territory either for himself or for his Imperial tools, and territory and power again steps to Imperial rule. From Imperial rule it was to be a step to a democratic Federated Commonwealth of South Africa, and the topmost rung of the ladder was to rest on that idea for which we have found no title, but which consists in the Federation on democratic lines of all peoples whose language is of Teutonic root—a Federation passing into an International Socialism that "ignores patriotism as the last refuge of the scoundrel."

Democratic Federation was the ideal of Cecil Rhodes's life. He wrecked himself by his temporary Imperial Opportunism—and *he knew it*.

REGINALD DE QUINTON.

Baltimore, Md.

II. A MODERN CORTEZ.

THE career of Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the South African Empire, has again confirmed the truth of a saying ascribed to the poet-philosopher Lucretius, *viz.*, that "a great builder needs the assistance of all the gods to avoid the task of a destroyer."

The modern Cortez was gifted with a rare combination of the qualities that can reconcile men to power. He was a mental and physical giant, but had mastered the art of condescension, and succeeded in making nearly all the agents of his ambition his personal friends. His habit of self-banter disarmed the envy that haunts the path of parvenus. In 1885, when his yearly income already exceeded half a million, he entertained his London friends with anecdotes of the time when financial straights tempted him to all sorts of sartorial and culinary experiments. "We used to buy flour to cheapen the price of bread," he laughed, "and turned out biscuits that had at least one obvious advantage: the rats that raided our shanty every night could not gnaw them."

Rhodes had the eloquence that has been defined as the art of persuasion, and differs from rhetorical trickery as poetic inspiration differs from the artifices of the versifier. Like Hernan Cortez, he valued wealth only as a means to ulterior ends. In less than ten years after his first arrival in South Africa he had acquired a controlling interest in the richest two mines of the eastern continent, but deliberately relinquished more than one chance for doubling his fortune rather than miss the winter terms of a British college, where he had resolved to complete his education.

He loved science for its own sake and was probably sincere in assuring his Oxford teachers that he "hated to go back to that cursed drudgery"—meaning his Kimberley enterprise, which netted him from \$40,000 to \$50,000 a week. "The trouble is," he added, "that a man nowadays has no right to miss a chance like that; it's like neglecting the only road-horse that

can be relied upon to go. It's no use having grand projects if you lack the money to back them."

"Qui non habet in nummis
Dem hilfts' nix dass er frumm is,"

—as Dr. Luther ventured to summarize a prosaic but sadly undeniable truth.

These projects pursued him like the goblins of Goethe's wizard-apprentice, and often in numbers that strained the limits of his enormous resources; but he was capable of dismissing his ways and means committee to devote an afternoon to experiments with some scientific novelty that had happened to attract his attention.

With a working capacity hardly surpassed by that of the First Napoleon, he combined an almost misfortune-proof fund of good humor. When the Boers trapped him in Kimberley and captured hill after hill of the surrounding highlands, he quizzed their hobbies in a manner that kept the garrison convulsed with laughter. "Don't grudge them a little comfort," said he, when a trained baboon had escaped across the ramparts and was suspected of having deserted to the camp of the enemy; "they will drag him before the Holy Inquisition for dancing on Sunday."

He had promised every survivor of the siege a bounty of £100, and afterward, when the prospects of rescue had considerably brightened, added a guaranty of £250 for every invalided defender of the precarious stronghold. His liberality, indeed, made his great wealth a blessing to the poor of nearly every South African city, and Cecil Rhodes may be said to have combined all the conditions of popularity, and, with one exception, all those of success. Like the conqueror of Mexico, the African autocrat lacked patience,—patience in the sense of tolerance,—as well as the prudence that can await the coöperation of time.

In 1519, after the battle of Tabasco, it became evident that the semi-independent provinces of the Mexican Empire would rally to the standard of the invader, and that the conquest of the capital would be effected without risking the life of a Span-

ish soldier; but Cortez could not wait. His horror of Aztec superstitions impelled him to choose the alternative of an immediate attack, in defiance of present and prospective perils, including the risk of giving his Spanish adversaries an opportunity for misconstruing his motives. Even thus the ambition of the South African reconstructor was wrecked by his headlong attacks upon an obstacle that might have been surmounted with the aid of time.

The ultimate goal of his political operations was the establishment of a South African Union, either under a British protectorate or under the flag of a federal republic. As early as 1881 his plans began to point to a purpose of that sort. It became the day-dream of his later years—an ideal not attainable, as he gradually recognized, without the sacrifice of a good many Boer bigots and Griqua savages; but from the viewpoint of the bold projector those impediments deserved no consideration for their own sake: nay, in a choice between two types of barbarism, the Hottentot seemed the more respectable biped of the two.

Dutch-African conservatism had so often thwarted the projects of the restless innovator that his at first rather facetious antagonism gradually took the form of a fierce monomania; at the mere mention of the "close-fisted catechism-mongers," the would-be reformer's brow darkened, and his best friends were more than once appalled by the reckless ferocity of his invectives. "Psalm and Schiedam yahoos," "brainless and heartless bigots," and "consecrated clowns" were his mildest epithets in referring to the citizens of a commonwealth that he described as a "monstrous anachronism," "an oligarchy of hypocrites fattening at the expense of their dupes, and inciting a horde of superstition-bestialized hoodlums to trample down all symptoms of progress, and howl at night under the window of every rationalist." Hence the astonishing violation of political amenity that seemed to contrast so strangely with the habits of the accomplished reformer; hence also his indifference to the charge of complicity in the outrage that finally precipitated the desperate war.

Rhodes gloried in that impeachment and lavished his wealth and his influence to shield the perpetrators of the fatal raid. Their leader became his bosom friend; he paid Dr. Jameson a princely salary to accompany him on all his zigzag rambles through Europe and Africa; he made him his financial representative in transactions involving enormous sums; he intrusted him with his political secrets, and a few weeks ago died in his arms, defiant of meddlers and of all the odium provoked by the recklessness of the ill-fated expedition.

Yet that odium was undoubtedly the main cause of his premature death. The conquest of Mexico did not save Cortez from the storm of reproach that masked the envy of his rivals; his treatment of the vanquished prince and the methods of his audacious campaign had given his enemies an advantage that for a couple of years decided the bias of public opinion—and that period sufficed to blight the career of the gallant adventurer.

That history of his ruin repeated itself in South Africa. Cecil Rhodes scorned to mention the grievance of his financial reverses, but the loss of popularity overtaxed his staying powers. The war had made martyrs and heroes of his adversaries—of partizans whom he despised more than Chinese Gordon despised the Mongols, whom he hated more than William of Orange hated the Spaniards.

With all the self-sustaining resources of his pride he could not help accusing himself of a serious mistake. If his anti-Boer fanaticism was justified, he had overrated the intelligence of the British public. If it was founded on prejudice, he had underrated their sense of justice. For his friends there was only scant consolation in the political results of the war. The edifice of the South African republic had collapsed, but the Kimberley Samson staggered out of the ruins with a death-wound.

For the last six months he had strained all his energies to complete his work by effecting the moral annihilation of his foes, and some specifications of his impeachment are not easy to controvert; but their very cogency suggests the question:

Would not time, aided by such influences as the testimony of the refugee Outlanders, have been certain to effect a reaction of public opinion ; and should Cecil Rhodes not have been able to recognize the probability of that result ?

Perhaps he was ; but he could not wait. He was worn out by the same impatience and vehemence of resentment that had killed Hernan Cortez, and distracted and killed Suwaroff, Bonaparte, Byron, Skobelev, and Charles Parnell. And it must be admitted that the predominance of the characteristics that constitute the power of such men almost precludes the development of the gifts that insure the rewards of the cautious plotter. Energy such as theirs may be incompatible with patience. Their combination would imply temporary omnipotence, and is at least rare enough to explain the fact that a mission of destruction is apt to recoil upon the destroyer.

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THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF HISTORY.

THE New History is genetic. From effects it strikes at once at causes. Henceforth history must deal with physical origins. The peopling of the different parts of the earth, the acquirement of national traits of character, and the molding of the mental aptitude of races must now be considered largely functions of environment.

Accounts of warring rulers no longer constitute the history of mankind. Decisive battles of the world have been inevitable for reasons far deeper than mere caprice of petty prince. The segregation process in nations, everywhere and at all times, has been upon physiographic lines. Invariably in vain have been the mightiest efforts of so-called world-conquerors to overstep these boundaries, which Nature so immutably has set. We look beyond the will of man for an adequate cause for the distribution of peoples.

When a definite plan shall be discernible in the arrangement of the earth's grander features—distribution of land and water, trend of mountain ranges, location of great lakes and great basins, courses of principal rivers—the guiding thread will be furnished to the vast labyrinth of human history as we have long so imperfectly known it. The finding of a regular geometrical form to fit our globe would reduce the whole problem to simplest terms. The recent efforts to discover this simple crystal shape is, as it were, fraught with unusual interest. Fanciful as the idea may seem at first glance, there is vast merit in the suggestion.

The attempt to reduce the earth's grander features to a definite plan is one of the great problems with which geologists to-day are wrestling. That the present distribution of the land and water areas of the globe is anything more than the result of mere chance has probably been by most people never questioned. That the continents by their forms and relative positions have a deeper causal significance than scientists have been able to give them has been widely asserted. That mountains

and valleys are produced according to some special law has been time and again speculated upon by geologists. The opening of the twentieth century finds a new impulse given to the consideration of this theme.

Ever since mankind began seriously to consider the grander features of the globe with respect to their causes, there has been a determined effort to discern some regular system in the physiognomy of our planet. The present arrangement of land and sea has been—from the time when earth-study developed into a science—a proposition against which geologists, in all their vigorous assaults, have made but small impress.

Why should the land segregate around one pole of the earth to form a northern land hemisphere? Why should the oceans gather around the opposite pole to constitute a southern hemisphere of seas? Why should the land stretch out southward in three long fingers, and interlock with three longer, larger, northward-extending prolongations of water? There must be some deep-seated reason for such regularity in the arrangement of the earth's greatest features. There must be some genetic principle at the bottom of this special facial expression of our globe. There must be some schematic form, according to which are determined the locations of mountain ranges and great valleys, broad domes and vast basins, inland seas and oceanic isles.

Most of us have been taught that in shape our earth is a sphere. We have learned also that our first conceptions in this regard have to be modified somewhat, and that the earth's form cannot be considered that of a perfect globe. There are many deformations recognizable, and these appear to be continually growing in number as refinement in investigation increases. The polar diameter of the earth, for instance, has proved to be shorter than any other. Then the equator has been found to be an ellipse instead of a circle. Now appear reasons for believing that the southern polar region, in place of being so flattened as the northern, is really drawn out. Our planet must be, therefore, considered top-shaped. Turnip-shaped would be perhaps nearer. Sir William Herschel says simply

that the earth is earth-shaped. This statement is far more significant than might at first appear; for there is no shape, with which we are acquainted, that is exactly like that of our earth.

Earth-students of all times and all civilizations have divined that some sort of symmetry existed in the arrangement of the grander features of the world. Greek and Roman philosophers found all the geographical characters of their world centered in the Mediterranean region. Medieval cosmologists, deeply dyed by the anthropocentric religious dogma of their age, fancied that their world was designed on the plan of the cart-wheel. Now, with the whole globe known and the causes producing the various features rigidly inquired into, the possible existence of a regular symmetry acquires new interest.

Briefly stated, the problem is: On the theory of a constantly contracting globe, what change in shape would the terrestrial sphere naturally undergo—that is, what regular faceted form would the earth tend to assume? Gravity demands that the outer rigid crust shall close closely over the shrinking interior. According to the principle of least action, there must be in this movement a minimum readjustment of the rigid crustal shell. Now, it is well known that, among all the simple geometrical figures, a given surface includes a maximum bulk when in the form of a sphere, and a minimum bulk when in the form of a four-sided body, or tetrahedron. In the case of the shrinking earth, the question that suggests itself is, Do the grander geographic features of our globe give in their arrangement any evidence of deformation toward any regular geometrical form?

Recent progress in earth-study has been so rapid that few persons, besides the professional geologists themselves, have been able to keep up with the quick march of events. Few among the present generation of geologists fully appreciate what formidable stumbling-blocks some of the more simple geological problems were sixty years ago. The first serious geological attempt to fit the spherical earth to an angular figure that might find expression in the inequalities of the earth's surface was by the French savant, Elie de Beaumont. In 1852 this famous scientist formulated his great theory of mountain

systems, in a ponderous work of three elaborate tomes. His idea was that, taking as a base the figure that geometricians call the five-sided twelve-faced form, or pentagonal dodecahedron, the mountain-chains of the globe are more or less regularly distributed and that they cross one another in accordance with the regular symmetrical network of the form mentioned. Those ranges that are parallel were supposed to be formed during the same geological period.

The reference of the earth's geographical features to a regular geometrical basis has never received much support outside of France. Among those who have recently advanced views on this subject may be mentioned especially Daubr  e, Michel-L  vy, and Laparent.

In this country about the only person who has given the subject serious attention is Professor Richard Owen, brother of the former United States Geologist, Dr. David Dale Owen. To him is due the honor of first conceiving the idea of the tetrahedral or four-faced symmetry, and also of formulating a plan in which the rhombic dodecahedron is the fundamental or schematic form.

The most remarkable conception, however, of a regularly deformed earth, and one that is at present receiving much attention, is the hypothesis of a tetrahedral globe, as proposed by William Green. Under a title that calls to mind the medieval cosmologies, a very ingenious scheme is unfolded. Green was not a professional scientist, but an English merchant who lived in Honolulu. It is probably on this account, shut off from the scientific world and far removed from large libraries, that the work of this original thinker was received with more or less ridicule when it first appeared, twenty-five years ago. While he was not the first to suggest the tetrahedral conception, the idea was no doubt original with him.

In considering the possible tendency of the earth to assume a regular geometrical form, it must not be inferred that the amount of deformation would give rise to anything like a perfect shape, such as is assumed in crystal development. In the case of the four-faced body, for example, we would not expect

four flat surfaces. The figure would have developed its most general form, as it is termed in crystallography. In the tetrahedron, each face would be a low, six-faceted pyramid, with curved surfaces. With its fullest number of convex faces and its usual habit, it resembles a diamond pebble.

Should there be discernible in the earth any tendency toward the development of a regular, faceted figure, the values of the deformation would probably not be measurable, even approximately, by ordinary geodetic methods. Adoption of different and more refined means in geodesy might furnish exact measurements. Notwithstanding the fact that in this connection instrumental measurements are not feasible at the present time, it is believed that the angularities would be sufficiently marked to affect the manner in which the land and water and the grander features of the earth are distributed.

The essential idea may be briefly explained. If we take a common school-globe and inscribe upon it the four-faced figure that we have called the tetrahedron, we find the Arctic ocean occupying the middle of one of the four faces. The edges of this face pass around through the middle of the great land belt of the northern hemisphere. From the latter extend southward along the three lateral edges of the four-faced shape the three great southward projecting land areas, which finally taper out into the great southern belt of seas. Out of the latter rises the Antarctic continent, which thus occupies the position of the fourth corner of the regular figure. The actual disposition of the land and water on the globe and the theoretical arrangement on the four-faced figure are the same.

Singularly enough for this theory, experiments with short iron tubes, balls, rubber balloons, and gas bubbles in water, all show that tetrahedral collapse, as it is called, actually does take place. The geology of the globe also bears out the tetrahedral hypothesis to a remarkable degree.

Heretofore, the arrangement of the land areas and the great bodies of water as they exist to-day has received no satisfactory explanation. On the theory of tetrahedral collapse, the present distribution and plan naturally follow.

There is another regular geometrical form toward which the geoid, as indicated by its great surface features, has been thought to tend in the course of its secular cooling. This is the rhombic dodecahedron. The idea was first suggested by Richard Owen, and has many facts to support it. Geometrically, the rhombic dodecahedron is derived from the same general form as the tetrahedron. The change of the possible shape of the one is thus not fundamentally different from that of the other. In many respects the rhomb-faced figure, as projected on the earth's surface, furnishes a more satisfactory plan than does the tetrahedron.

While theoretically the four-faced form is the figure toward which a collapsing globe would naturally tend, there might be in reality, owing to the introduction of various outside factors, a slightly different form followed. This would not invalidate the general theory. The rhombic figure is such a form.

Owen's manner of reasoning is exceedingly clear. By him the polar axis of the earth is regarded as extending from the center of one rhombic face to the center of the opposite one. The sharper four-sided angles of the dodecahedron are then near the Aleutian Islands, New Zealand, and, on the earth's equator, at Sumatra and Quito; while the remaining two lie in the Alps and south of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus oriented, the centers of rhombs are usually occupied by water or low land; while the ridges of rhombs are generally lines of mountain ranges or water-sheds, and many of the apices are characterized by vicinity of volcanic groups.

Whatever faceted geometrical form is finally selected, we should expect to find the great world-ridges following approximately the edges of the faces. In the central portions of the faces we should expect marked depressions to exist. Every scheme should present these as essential features.

Fanciful as speculations of this kind may be regarded, it is now quite certain that the mountain ranges and other great features of our globe must have some kind of systematic arrangement intimately connected with their origin.

The broken folded tracts of the earth, which in their local

development and intensified expression we call mountains, are now considered as ranking very differently among themselves, according to their origin. The general conception of the foldings of the globe is that they are exceedingly complex in their character; that the little wrinkles may ride, as it were, on larger folds; and that these again may rise out of still greater swells. Structural mountains may thus be likened to the waves of a tempestuous sea. Within the province of the mightiest rolls it is possible to arrange all mountainous inequalities of the earth's surface in accordance with these relationships.

Modern geology teaches us that our grand old earth is not dead and inert, as all stony masses were once thought to be. In all the rocks are motion and constant change. Continuously going on in them are transformations that are akin to those changes with which we are so familiar in the biological world. All are believed to be only slightly different manifestations of the same great force.

The face of earth is capable of giving expression to emotions as deep and as varied as those that flit across the human face.

Historians have been prone to dwell upon the moral, social, and physical causes affecting the development of civilization and liberty. The last named group of agencies is usually given the last and least important position. The latest investigations demonstrate that the element of physical environment should have first place in the category of civilizing factors. Not only is it the prime motive force, but its influence is greater than all other causes combined; for it lies at the base of them all. One of the chief missions of modern geology has been to supply tangible data for showing how intimate are the relations between man and his surroundings.

Students of minerals are able to reduce all components of the earth's crust to definite crystal form. In the recognition of a distinct tendency toward regular crystal form in the collapsing shell of the earth, we may soon be able to reduce all human history to terms of definite and regular geometrical control.

CHARLES ROLLIN KEYES.

Des Moines, Iowa.

AN ECHO OF THE INQUISITION.

THE *Christian Advocate*, of New York, the "great official" organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, contains an editorial, January 30, 1902, entitled "A Momentous Issue." When we examine the "issue" it proves to be the case of Professor Charles W. Pearson, of the Northwestern University, a Methodist institution situated at Evanston, Illinois. The Professor is charged with heresy. The *Advocate* says:

"Professor Pearson has declared the Biblical miracles *myths*. The miracles, then, never having occurred, the accounts are false. If this be true, there is no adequate proof that God has ever made a revelation of supernatural facts or supernatural truths to man, who therefore must confront the hopeless mystery of existence without His aid [*sic*]!"

"But if the Bible miracles are not myths, but accounts of real events attending the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, may His Spirit enlighten the eyes of this professor that he may see that 'he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.' Pending that merciful manifestation, let him awake to the fact that his long years of service constitute no reason for permitting him to turn the guns of the fort against those who erected it, their sons and their daughters.

"The policy of smoothing these statements over with a lecture or a reprimand, or a tacit agreement on the part of the professor not to fan the flame of controversy with other radical statements at the present time, will not suffice. It will neither be worthy of the trustees, of the denomination, nor of the common honesty. Either Professor Pearson believes what he has printed or he does not; if he does, his sentiments disqualify him for the position there. If he does not believe it, his indiscretion disqualifies him. Any claim from any quarter that he should remain impeaches either his sense or his morality.

"If professors avowing such views are to be retained in Methodist institutions, even at the price of silence hereafter,—since without explicit retraction their mere presence there will be a perpetual reaffirmation of those views,—then among the chief foes of the Methodist Episcopal Church must be counted officers responsible for such retention."

In the next number of the *Advocate*, the editor states at some length what Methodism stands for. The statement is intensely interesting as showing what the church really believes, and what it is to be a Methodist heretic:

"It [Methodism] is committed in essence to the belief that the Old Testament contains a system prophetic of and preparatory to the events and teachings recorded in the New Testament; that, to establish the earlier dispensations linked together in the Old Testament, miracles were wrought—*events which did not occur in the order of natural law* [italics ours], but resulted from a special Divine interference intended to prove that 'the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'

"Methodism stands upon the belief that Christ forever is God and is 'with God;' that he is the Messiah of whom Moses and the prophets spoke and wrote; that he did many 'mighty works'—among them was feeding a multitude with a few loaves and fishes; that he walked upon the sea and held out his hand to sinking Peter; that men born blind he sent away seeing; that to the widow of Nain he gave back her son alive again; that in response to his command Lazarus, dead for days, 'came forth'; that after his own death he arose from the dead; and that, after the form which they had recognized when Thomas was absent and when he was present, he literally ascended till 'a cloud received him out of their sight.' It believes that the apostles also, in his name, healed the sick and raised the dead.

"Methodism also believes that, amidst circumstantial variety, the substance of the accounts in the New Testament is a record not of 'myths,' but of actual facts supernaturally caused. Methodism finds inextricably interwoven with these records the truth, confirmed by observation of mankind and by individual experience, that 'every man' must be 'born again' through personal operation of the Spirit of God—a change in no genuine case to be explained wholly by natural causes; that without a provision analogous to Jesus Christ's life, sufferings, and death God could not have justly remitted the penalty incurred by responsible human beings who had broken His law; that this life is a probation, and that those who pass through it, to the last intelligently and obstinately refusing to obey, can never enter into life eternal. Hence, Methodists believe in working out their 'own salvation,' giving all diligence to make

their 'calling and election sure,' and, knowing both 'the terror' and 'the joy' of the Lord, they are impelled to the most zealous efforts to save others.

"With these convictions and feelings they [the Methodists] are persuaded that any education which, either openly or insidiously, contradicts these principles, deadens their spirit, or works the same effect by ignoring them, is hostile to Christianity and especially to Methodism, which was raised up in the providence of God to preach the letter, infuse the spirit, and promote the life of godliness."

Other Methodist papers make utterances to the same general effect. The *Zion's Herald* demands the immediate retirement of Professor Pearson from a Methodist university. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* has the following:

"The views which Professor Pearson has expressed concerning the Bible, and especially in their implied denial of the supernatural character and power of Christ, come as a great surprise to those who know him. The surprise was the greater that he should utter revolutionary statements that would, if true, remove the very foundations of the Methodist Church, while holding a position in an institution founded for the purpose of counteracting such views, and while he was a member of a church a fundamental article of whose creed is belief in miracles."

A little later the *Zion's Herald* informs its readers that Professor Pearson's resignation has been accepted, and that he will soon enter the lecture field, his topic being "Biblical Miracles." The *Herald* then affirms that, the Northwestern University being relieved of responsibility for the Professor's teaching, "no unbrotherly feeling is left behind," but adds, with what sounds like a note of exultation in the thought of his final downfall: "The course which he now proposes to take will excite pity rather than censure. He is likely for a time to find his heresies profitable, as is usually the case. But the end cometh."

These utterances and demands of the Methodist press naturally arouse curiosity to ascertain what manner of man he is for whose teachings the Church can no longer be responsible, and to learn what is the nature of those teachings.

Only brief extracts had been given by the opposition, and these might possibly be misleading. Accordingly, I wrote to Mr. Pearson for a pamphlet and a personal statement. The following is the reply:

1930 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill., March 17, 1902.

REV. R. E. BISBEE, Milford, Mass.:

Dear Sir—As requested in your letter of March 15, just received, I send you all my writings that in any way illustrate my relations with the M.E. Church. They are named in the order of publication, and are as follows:

1. Methodism; a Retrospect and an Outlook. 1891.
2. Creed and Practise. 1900.
3. Address before the Alumni Association. 1901.
4. Open Inspiration. 1902.
5. Ethics of Reform Agitation. 1902.
6. Letter to *Northwestern Christian Advocate*. 1902.
7. Farewell to Professors and Students.

As to my personal history, the facts are briefly these: I was born in 1846. My father was an English Wesleyan preacher, and I was brought up "after the strictest sect of our religion." At fourteen, however, I went to sea, and at nineteen to Buenos Ayres, where I was converted and joined the M. E. Church. I was asked to teach in the Mission School and did so for more than a year. Believing that I was called to preach, I took the advice of Dr. William Goodfellow, the superintendent of the work in South America, and in 1867 came to Northwestern University, Evanston, for further preparation.

After graduation I was invited to teach in the University and did so for five years, when I joined the Michigan Conference on probation. I was stationed at Bangor, Mich., and preached there for six months, when doctrinal difficulties and partial loss of health led me to resign.

I returned to Evanston and was invited to resume my relation as teacher and remained in the service of the University until my resignation on Feb. 11 of the present year. It will be thus seen that as student and teacher I have spent the whole thirty-five years of my adult life, except the six months of ministerial work, in connection with the Northwestern University.

I resigned in order to save the University from embarrassment. The urgency of the Methodist press and the Chicago Methodist preachers was such that, if the Trustees had not accepted my resignation, they must themselves have resigned. Personally, they treated me in this matter as heretofore, with the utmost kindness and consideration, and have continued my salary till Jan. 1, '03, while entirely releasing me from service. Many of them sympathize largely, and some of them wholly, with my views, but they are "trustees," and think themselves compelled by that relationship to be conservative.

To me, the difficulty seems to be that those who might lead will

not, and that those who desire to do so cannot. Our General Conference is too hurried and unwieldy for serious deliberation, and doctrinal questions are refused a hearing even in committees. An individual editor, preacher, or professor who makes any serious effort to assert the claims of knowledge, reason, and conscience is not answered by argument, but simply crushed by authority. It is an ominous situation and can be ended only in one of three ways: (1) genuine repentance on the part of the church and the acceptance of all new truth and new obligation; (2) the deterioration of the church by the loss of its more enlightened members and the acquisition of the ignorant and superstitious who are won by mere declamatory preaching; (3) the failure to gain even such recruits and the gradual disintegration of the body. Growth or decay is inevitable. There is no standing still.

You are at liberty to publish any part of this letter you choose. Yours truly,
C. W. PEARSON.

On examining the documents referred to by Professor Pearson in the foregoing letter, we find that he has been trying for a number of years in a perfectly frank and manly way to secure some changes in Methodistic statements of doctrine. To this end he sent two open letters to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church urging the necessity of creed revision. These letters were afterward published in pamphlet form and entitled "Creed and Practise." From these letters the following extracts are taken:

"The knowledge of the world has been revolutionized, but the preaching of the Methodist Church has not kept pace with the general progress of scholarship or even with the progress in its own colleges and theological seminaries. The essentials of religion are indestructible and eternal, but its formulas and symbols are frail and perishable. We have the water of life in an earthen vessel, and it is hardly too much to say that that vessel has been shattered. We need a reconstruction, and a necessary preliminary is a thorough testing of all our doctrines and usages. We must prove all things and hold fast only that which is good. We must avail ourselves of all the new helps, recognize all the new truths, strengthen our teaching by all the newly discovered and powerful arguments and analogies. True science is a most emphatic teacher of morals and a mighty pillar of faith. Many of the leaders of modern thought who are looked upon as heterodox have a far more vivid apprehension of spiritual things than the ordinary orthodox theologian. . . .

"No appeal to the conscience can prosper if the intellect is unconvinced. Every great prophet of every age has declared the whole counsel of God as he understood it, and we must be as faithful to our light as our fathers were to theirs. . . .

"Let us know the results of modern scholarship. Let us hear all that can be said for and against our traditional opinions. If the new views are wrong, overcome them by facts and arguments. If they are right, accept and preach them, but do not by a timid neutrality sap the mental and spiritual life of the Church. Let us have done with evasion and compromise, and let vital and earnest preaching be heard from every pulpit in our Church. Let men be urged to speak the truth and do the right at all costs. The result will doubtless discredit some of the traditions of the elders and destroy some of their fine-spun speculations, but it will mightily establish every truth of God and it will give the Church power over man. Grow or die is the alternative before every church, as before every other organization. Let us grow. . . .

"We have no awe-inspiring infallibility and authority; we have no venerable antiquity, no masterpieces of music, painting, sculpture, architecture, or literature; no temporal sovereignty and vast wealth to preserve us as an organization. We live by appealing to the reason and conscience of men; and if, by any infatuation, we should dare to set ourselves against the advancing tides of scholarship, philanthropy, and progress, their waves will in a very few years sweep us out of existence. Our Church would drop out of sight as a mere bubble upon the stream of time—a sad ending to our brief heroic history.

"Much depends upon the action of the General Conference. If, after some routine business and a scramble for offices, it adjourns without any serious effort to put itself in line with the best thought and aspiration of the world of to-day, calamity will be brought measurably nearer and decline may become ruin.

"Every man in a legislative assembly has need to bear in mind the warning, 'Go not with the multitude to do evil.' It is easy to acquiesce and throw the responsibility upon the leaders and upon the majority, and thus it is that again and again great ecclesiastical assemblies have by a heedless and gregarious vote committed themselves to false opinions and mistaken policies, which have immediately taken root and grown, and have gathered vested rights and supporters, and in some instances have plagued and hampered many generations before the mischievous act could be undone. The mistakes of creed-

makers are more enduring even than the blunders of architects, and some of those mistakes now stand as the most grim and monstrous of all exhibitions of human folly. Majorities are slow to learn that truth is as imperious a master of a majority as of a minority. Majority votes can alter no fact. They cannot make evil good, or error truth. Let us, then, profit by the experience of the past; let us obey God's law of progress; let us again become a pioneer church, and by our example provoke other denominations to zeal for truth, to love, and to good work. . . .

"Our twenty-five articles of religion keep many thoughtful and conscientious persons out of our Church. Why not allow men to differ about all the obscure and uncertain points of theology and shorten the creed to which all must assent to these three sublime general statements?—'What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' (Micah vi. 8.) 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' (Matthew xxii. 37-39.) 'Now abide faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love.' (I. Corinthians xiii. 13.) This is a creed equally well adapted to all countries and all times, whereas our present articles of faith represent conceptions that are passing rapidly away even in Christendom itself—conceptions that ought not to be, and indeed cannot now be, transplanted into heathen lands. Remember Colenso. The motto of the Evangelical Alliance runs as follows: 'In things essential, unity; in things non-essential, liberty; in all things, charity.' It is a noble creed, and should be interpreted by the words of Jesus above quoted. . . .

"Whatever may have been the use and even the necessity of elaborate creeds in a past age, they are manifestly a great hindrance to the practical work of the church in our day. They are more than a hindrance. They are an active disintegrating force. They are destroying us. Let us cease to make willingness to assent to them the test of admission to the ministry or membership. Let the test be ability, character, and service, or, in the good old phrase, 'gifts, grace, and usefulness,' and leave opinion entirely free; and then error will gradually fade with the growth of intelligence, and, best of all, the energies of the church, released from a burden of care and controversy and apologetics, will have leisure and inspiration for more earnest efforts to remove the heart-breaking sorrows and burdens, the vice, the poverty,

the disease, the ignorance which are still so painfully prevalent in our own and every nominally Christian land."

These strong and truly earnest Christian utterances of the memorialist were ignored by the General Conference. It was after this that Professor Pearson prepared his celebrated pamphlet on "Open Inspiration *versus* a Closed Canon and Infallible Bible." In this he strikes with all his force, having doubtless in mind the maxim that one cannot create a revolution with rose-water. If his purpose was to wake up the Church his success was eminent. Vehement protest was made on every hand, with the result already noted. The following passages gave the greatest offense:

"Jesus told the scribes and Pharisees that they made 'the word of God of none effect through their tradition.' Very many of our religious teachers are to-day doing the same thing. Modern preaching lacks truth and power because so many churches cling to an utterly untenable tradition that the Bible is an infallible book. This dogma is their besetting sin. It is the golden calf of their idolatrous worship. It is the palpable lie that gives the ring of insincerity to all their moral exhortations. If theologians wish to regain their lost intellectual leadership, or even to possess an influence on the thoughtful part of the community coördinate with that of poets, philosophers, and men of science, they must throw aside the dogma of an infallible Bible as completely and frankly as Protestants have thrown aside the dogma of an infallible Pope. . . .

"Most of our present preaching is evasive; most of our Sunday-school teaching is inadequate and almost farcical. . . .

"It does not require the exceptional courage and foresight of a Strauss to recognize the mythical character of the Biblical miracles. We live in the day of Darwin and Huxley, of the Encyclopedia Biblica and of the science of criticism, and for the churches to ignore the conclusions of the whole scientific world and of their own best scholars is at once fatuous and culpable."

But there were other passages which the Methodist press as a rule took particular pains not to quote. Some of them are as follows:

"The great spiritual teachings of the Bible rest upon absolute and eternal truth, but its history and science are always

imperfect and often erroneous. Only the most ignorant still believe in witchcraft and demoniacal possession. Not the 'stars in their courses' only, not merely astronomy, but geology and biology have shown that the story of creation in Genesis is poetic and not scientific. The Church cannot afford to uphold primitive conceptions which are opposed by every school-book on the subjects in question, or barbarous ethics which are condemned by every moralist and legislator.

"It will be asked in dismay by conservative people what is left to the Church if it accepts these views. I answer, an infinitely truer, richer, and more spiritual religion. Faith, hope, and charity are left. The moral law is left. The Bible itself is left, and all its spiritual teachings are freed from the dead body of tradition and quickened into new life.

"The great task of the Church is to continue and expand the work of Jesus, to get rid of the traditions which 'make the word of God of none effect,' and to develop faith in direct and immediate communion with the Father. In other words, we must discard all error as soon as we discover it to be error, and accept all truth as soon as we discover it to be truth. Spiritual revelation in the past legendary age was bound up with legend; spiritual revelation in the present scientific age must be based upon science. 'The truth shall make you free,' says Jesus. The love of truth is the great liberating and unifying force in all lines of inquiry and conduct. Truth is real and objective, and is eventually discovered by all honest and competent seekers after it. But those who wilfully refuse or neglect the truth have no basis of agreement whatever, but are at the mercy of their individual prejudices and caprices and are lost in the endless mazes of error.

"Religious teachers cannot safely oppose or ignore the exact sciences. Ignorant men, no matter how pure and honest they may be, cannot to-day direct the world's affairs. Nor can wise men, leaders in science, in commerce, and in finance, economists and philanthropists, work effectively through merely secular agencies. They must lay hold upon the mighty spiritual aspirations through which man joins his feebleness to the omnipotence of his divine Creator. The existing churches by laying aside their legends and superstitions and accepting reverently all truth as it is revealed, must become fit agencies for the best minds to utilize or must yield to newer and more progressive organizations. The evasion and suppression of truth, if persisted in, becomes mere priestcraft and imposture, and leads to the decay and death of any church that permits it."

So much for Professor Pearson and his opponents. It is unfortunate that the Methodist Church is so constituted that it cannot keep such a man within its folds. Granted that it cannot, where is the fault? It seems to lie in a false assumption of what is essential to church organization. This false assumption has been in vogue for many centuries, and nearly all ecclesiastical organizations are based upon it. It is the assumption that an agreement in doctrine, or even opinion, constitutes the true bond of union. This assumption Professor Pearson has sufficiently answered. It should be rather an agreement of purpose and life.

There can be no doubt of the sincerity of those who oppose Professor Pearson. As the church is at present organized, perhaps they could not do otherwise; but it is well to remember that some things may have become essential to Methodism that are not essential to Christianity. The only things essential to Christianity, in the last analysis, are the spirit of love and the spirit of truth. A belief in miracles as "events which did not occur in the order of natural law" is by no means essential.

Christianity is not an invention: it is a revelation. It existed before Christ as much as electricity existed before Franklin and Morse. Christ revealed it, exemplified it, enforced it. Miracles called attention to it, and may have been of weight with some minds to prove its truth. As Christianity in its essence existed before the miracles of Jesus were wrought, so miracles cannot be essential, but accidental. If they have become essential to Methodism, or if a belief in them has, it is because this has been made so by the legal authorities of the church. The same authorities can change the relation of a belief in miracles to the church. As the *Christian Advocate* says:

"It is apparent how necessary it is for the Church to distinguish wisely between essentials and non-essentials, adhering with undying tenacity to the former and granting liberty in the latter. The scope of non-essentials varies from age to age, and the Church needs to be vigilant lest essentials should be classed with non-essentials. To class non-essentials with es-

entials is *bigotry*; to class essentials with non-essentials is to substitute license for *liberty*."

And again:

"There are methods of changing everything in Methodism—doctrines included—when the legal numbers of the ministry and laity shall determine upon so doing."

The question as to how long a man should remain in the church after he has rejected some of its so-called essentials of the faith is a matter of dispute. If everything in Methodism can be changed, it is hard to see how this change can be effected unless the freest discussion is allowed to its preachers and teachers. As in an attempt to reform a political party, some will doubtless work within and others without. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.

Jesus and his disciples taught their revolutionary doctrines within the temple and the synagogue. Paul did the same, dividing many a congregation and disturbing the peace of many a household. John Wesley lived and died within the folds of the Established Church. Others equally conscientious have sought to build up rival organizations, and accomplish their purpose by different means. Who shall say what is always wise and right?

It is also an open question as to what extent the past has a moral right to bind the present and the future.

"Though dead men's fingers hold awful tight,
And there are the doctrines in black and white,"

—it may be the duty of the hour to "rise and break the will."

The purpose of this paper is not to enter into all the intricacies of the discussion, but simply to set forth the question at issue, to show the difficulties of the problem, and to give both sides as fair a hearing as possible with the space at command. I have called it "An Echo of the Inquisition," not with any purpose to reflect on those engaged in the controversy but to show the inherent and inevitable cruelty of a system based upon a false assumption. A man may enter the church in his youth with all sincerity, accept its doctrines on what seems to him an overwhelming weight of authority, may put all the

strength of a mighty purpose into his work and add thousands to the fold; but if in the course of time, in the maturity of his powers, he comes to look at things in a new light, is forced by his convictions to discard some things he once held sacred and even essential, he must either repress his thoughts, hide his light, or get out. This is the cruelty of it. This is the echo of the Inquisition.

After all, the question of belief is largely a matter of words—of definition. "Let me define my terms," said a certain scholar, "and I will subscribe to any creed in Christendom." "I believe in the gospel account of the birth of Jesus," said a learned Professor; and then he winked to his old pupils, for they knew what he meant by the "gospel account."

We are constantly changing our creed, often unconsciously and in spite of ourselves. We use the old terminology, but with new or added meanings. Professor Pearson demands a new terminology—a revised and honest expression. We may not agree with him in all his conclusions, but it is hard to find fault with his purpose and spirit. The church that has no place for such a man should give itself a thorough examination, and ask itself seriously if it has a right to be called Christian.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Milford, Mass.

THE PLURAL MARRIAGE PROBLEM.

A Conversation between EDITOR CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON
and C. W. PENROSE, on

THE AIM, SCOPE, AND METHODS OF THE MORMON CHURCH.*

Q. Mr. Penrose, in view of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States in reference to polygamy and polygamous practises, what is the attitude of the Mormon people?

A. It is one of quiet waiting without any special action. We object to it on these grounds: (1) It is entirely unnecessary. Utah has legislated against these offenses directly in her constitution. She also has very stringent statutes providing severe penalties for their infraction. These are ample to meet the situation. (2) The proposed amendment would be virtually a stigma on the State. It would presuppose the prevalence of polygamy notwithstanding the understanding between this State and the nation, in regard to this matter, on the admission of Utah into the Union. Full faith has been kept with the nation, and both the nation and the State forbid the performance of plural marriages. As a matter of fact, none are being entered into. (3) It would injure business and hinder the progress of the State because it would be a virtual notice to the world that society here is in such a condition that Christian people would hesitate about taking up their residence and investing capital in such a community.

*The accompanying Conversation recently took place in Salt Lake City, Utah, between Mr. Patterson and Mr. C. W. Penrose, while the former was on a six-weeks tour of the Western States. Mr. Penrose is editor-in-chief of the *Deseret News*, and is one of the most prominent Mormons in the Union. The current discussion, in and out of Congress, of the question of anti-polygamy legislation renders his remarks of timely interest and importance, and they may be regarded by our readers as being in the fullest and most accurate sense authoritative.—
J. E. M.

Q. Then the church no longer sanctions plural marriage?

A. It does not. The president of the church is the only person holding the keys of authority. He has not only declined to authorize plural marriages, but has expressly forbidden such unions.

Q. Are there not people at the present time in the State of Utah living in the plural marriage state?

A. There are persons who contracted such marriages many years ago who live with their families and refuse to separate from them, as they regard the union entered into with their wives as binding upon them through all eternity. Their numbers, however, are comparatively few, and are decreasing rapidly year by year through the death of one or more of the parties.

Q. Do you consider it wise or just for these people to separate from their families, each man retaining but one wife?

A. I certainly do not. It would be in my opinion not only unwise but cruel. The ties of affection that unite them cannot be sundered, and as the wives and children are dependent upon the husbands and fathers they should be supported, cared for, and educated, and not become a burden upon the public. On the score of morality as well as charity and regard for their religious views, they should not be forced to dissolve their relations—seeing that except in a very few instances they cannot be regarded as in any way injurious to the public, for in the large majority of cases they are elderly persons with no family increase.

Q. In the past, Mr. Penrose, what percentage of the Mormon people have contracted plural marriages? The general opinion in the East has been that a great majority had entered into such relations.

A. The Utah Commission appointed by the President of the United States under the Edmonds act of March 22, 1882, reported—after the operations of that act in disfranchising all polygamists, male and female—that they had disfranchised about 12,000 persons. This was undoubtedly an exaggeration, as may be seen from the election returns before and after the

act went into force. But, taking those figures as correct, and in view of the statement of that body that each polygamist must have had at least two wives, this would leave 4,000 male polygamists, the population of the State being then about 160,000, about 30,000 of whom would be non-Mormons. But there were some polygamists who had a greater number than two, and this would reduce the figures considerably. Testimony before Congressional committees at the time was to the effect that not more than two per cent. of the Mormon people had entered into that state.

Q. Would any considerable number of the Mormon people be willing to return to the plural marriage condition?

A. That is rather a difficult question to answer definitely. Sentiment has greatly changed on that subject, and there would be so many obstacles in the way that I must answer in the negative.

Q. In most other churches there are two wings—liberal and conservative. Are there any such divisions in your church, Mr. Penrose?

A. There are not. Questions of importance are freely discussed by the leaders of the church and those associated with them in the priesthood, and when they reach an agreement such matters are submitted to the vote of the church members assembled in general conference, which is held semi-annually, when all the official acts of the institution are also placed before the members for their vote, to be accepted or rejected. The church is one, and is united on both doctrine and discipline.

Q. Have the lay members of the church the final authority as regards any question of doctrine or practise?

A. They have in the way I have explained, so far as its acceptance as church polity is concerned; but the church looks for guidance to the presiding authorities and to its president as the prophet, seer, and revelator announcing the mind and will of Deity. That which he proclaims by the word of the Lord has to be accepted by the body in order to become a doctrine or rule of the church. The power to accept or reject is

retained by the body. This action, however, would not affect the truth or untruth of any principle so revealed. Truth cannot be changed by the action of any person or body. The decision of the body of the church would simply determine whether it should become a part of the church doctrine or regulation. One of the fundamental rules of the church is that "all things shall be done by common consent."

Q. What progress is the church making at the present time in membership?

A. Additions are being made to its numbers in all the missions now conducted, which extend into most of the civilized nations and among some semi-barbarous people, as for instance among the Maoris of New Zealand, the Samoans and other South Sea Islanders, the Hawaiians, etc. There are about fifteen hundred missionaries now in the field who travel "without purse or scrip," receiving no pay for their services, but either paying their own expenses or depending upon friends inspired of God to assist them.

Q. From what country do you draw the largest percentage of your membership?

A. From the British Isles and Scandinavia and the various States of the Union, particularly the Southern States.

Q. Does the church favor emigrating to Utah, or aid in bringing immigrants to the State who formally adopt the Mormon religion?

A. The church does not furnish any fund for emigrating purposes. Many years ago there was an aid society called the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, which furnished means to assist church members in their emigration; but that was dissolved by act of Congress, and now there is no such effort being put forth nor money furnished for that purpose. No special effort is made to induce people to come to Utah. However, every year there are some members who desire to take up their residence in this State, and as this is the headquarters of the church it is a place of attraction for all faithful Latter-Day Saints, and they are welcomed by their co-religionists.

Q. What are the requirements of one becoming a member of the Mormon Church?

A. He or she must be a believer in God the Father, in Jesus Christ the Son, and in the Holy Ghost; must repent of all sin by determining to forsake it and live a life of righteousness; must be baptized by immersion in water by one having authority in the church to perform that ordinance, and must receive the laying on of hands by one having authority to bestow the gift of the Holy Ghost. Being thus "born of water and of the spirit," he or she enters into the church and kingdom of God.

Q. Is the Book of Mormon considered an inspired work, and does it in any way supersede the Old and New Testaments?

A. It is considered an inspired record written by prophets on the American continent many centuries ago upon metallic plates, which were hidden in the earth by the last of the prophets, named Moroni, who was the son of the Prophet Mormon, who abridged the writings of the former prophets; therefore, the record is called by his name. It was translated by Joseph Smith, under the gift and inspiration of God, into the English language, and has since been translated into other tongues. It corroborates in doctrine the Bible, but does not in any way supersede the Old or the New Testament, but harmonizes with them both.

Q. What is the relative position of the sexes in the Mormon Church?

A. They are on a perfect equality as to membership and its rights and privileges. But only the males are ordained to the priesthood and ministry. Women may speak in the churches and exercise those spiritual gifts which were enjoyed by the primitive Saints, but they are not clothed with authority to administer the ordinances of the church or to direct its affairs. They have, however, an equal vote with the male members at all conferences and similar assemblies. They are organized into societies of their own: the elderly women into relief societies in which they hold their own meetings, conduct their

own business affairs and own their society property, and the younger women into mutual improvement associations having similar rights, privileges, and advantages. In the household they are regarded as the helpmeet, companion, and copartner of the husband. The principle is maintained that "the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord." Still, the husband is the head of the wife, not the wife the head of the husband.

Q. What is the position of the church in regard to woman suffrage?

A. The church supports both the theory and the practise of woman suffrage. It was established in Utah when the Mormon people were in full control of the Territory. It is given to women equally with men in affairs of the church, and it is held that they should enjoy it also in the State, which they do at present under the statutes and constitution of the State. Women's property rights are also equal to those of men.

Q. Mr. Penrose, you have a magnificent Temple here in Salt Lake, and I am told that non-Mormon people are never allowed to enter it. Would you kindly give me the reason for such exclusion?

A. Previous to its dedication, prominent non-Mormons in this city were invited to go through the building and inspect it, which they did with a great deal of curiosity and satisfaction. After its dedication it could not be entered by any one without written permission from the bishop of the ward in which the church member resides, countersigned by the president of the State of Zion to which the ward belongs. Only members in the best standing are permitted to enter the Temple, which is dedicated to the performance of ordinances of a sacred character for the living and for the dead. These may only be attended by such recommended persons. That is why no non-Mormon is allowed to enter that edifice.

Q. Does the priesthood offer up prayers for the departed?

A. No; prayers are not offered for the deceased, but baptisms and other ordinances are performed by the living in their behalf. One who has himself attended these ordinances and

is recommended as worthy to enter the Temple may be baptized for his dead relatives and ancestors. He cannot believe or repent for them, but may attend vicariously to the earthly ordinances necessary in their behalf. We believe that departed spirits are personal entities who can exercise their own agency as when in the body—can reform and progress and become obedient or rebellious as they may choose—and are all capable of receiving salvation.

Q. Do you believe that any will be eternally lost?

A. Not any except those designated as "sons of perdition." These are exceptional persons—few in number—who, having received light and knowledge from God direct, wilfully turn from the truth, fight against God and the light, become so corrupt as to be irredeemable, and thus are fit companions for the devil and his angels; and they are the only ones who will not eventually be brought up out of darkness and sorrow into life and some degree of glory. All will be judged "according to their works," and each will enter into the "mansion" or estate for which he has fitted himself by his own acts—redemption coming, however, through the atonement of Jesus Christ.

Q. In conclusion, Mr. Penrose, let me ask what you consider the immediate prospects of the church?

A. Gradual growth in unity, numbers, wealth, and influence throughout the world, power of resistance without violence to all encroachments, and ultimate prevalence over all the earth by the dissemination of light and truth and the overcoming of darkness and error. Our weapons are not carnal but spiritual, and we have the utmost confidence and assurance that the system that its opponents have been pleased to call "Mormonism" will triumph over everything that is raised against it; that finally it will prepare the way for the coming of Christ as King of kings and Lord of lords, the complete redemption of the earth and its inhabitants, and the fulfilment of all things spoken of by the prophets of God since the world began.

A NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE.*

A NATIONAL Coöperative Conference has been called by The Co-workers' Fraternity of Boston to be held in Lewiston, Maine, from June 20th to the 24th inclusive. The Co-workers' Fraternity is a college organization with a charter from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and is composed of the following persons: The Rev. Hiram Vrooman, president of the Fraternity and minister of the New Jerusalem Church, Roxbury, Boston; Bradford Peck, president of The Coöperative Association of America, of Lewiston, Maine; Henry D. Lloyd, the world-famous author of "Wealth against Commonwealth," "Newest England," "Labor Copartnership," and other books; Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston University, and an authority of international reputation on economic subjects; Prof. Elmer Gates, a scientist of wide reputation whose large laboratory is at Chevy Chase Circle, Washington, D. C.; B. O. Flower, founder and one of the present editors of *THE ARENA*, the great reform magazine; Willis J. Abbott, one of the most eminent reform editors in the nation, at the present time editor of *The Pilgrim*, published at Battle Creek, Michigan; J. Pickering Putman, noted architect, Boston; Harry C. Vrooman, president of the Western Coöperative Association; Charles E. Lund, secretary of The Coöperative Association of America; George F. Washburn, proprietor of a large department store in Boston and a reformer of national reputation; The Hon. Carl Vrooman, regent of the State Agricultural College of Kansas; James E. Young, attorney; Arthur D. Ropes, business man; Arthur E. Harris, artist.

*Those of our readers desiring to attend this immensely important Coöperative Conference, which, it is not improbable, may mark an opening epoch in social progress in the United States, can obtain programs and full information concerning reduced railroad fares and cost of living in Lewiston by addressing The Co-workers' Fraternity, 164 Magnolia St., Roxbury Station, Boston, Mass.—En.

The Co-workers' Fraternity is the owner of ninety per cent. of the capital stock of The Coöperative Association of America and of the Massachusetts Coöperative Association, and is to receive ninety per cent. of the capital stock of several other coöperative associations that are now being formed. By owning the controlling interest in these various coöperative companies this college organization will receive an income for developing its schools and colleges and has become legally qualified to act in the capacity of trustee for the permanent honesty and integrity of this entire coöperative movement. It furthermore brings together into organic federation and co-operation these various coöperative organizations.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by The Co-workers' Fraternity in calling this National Conference:

"Whereas, In our belief, the economic power has superseded the political power and is now the militant and ruling power of the world, and industrial coöperation is the only force capable of democratizing this economic power, and

"Whereas, This Co-workers' Fraternity and The Coöperative Association of America are organic parts of a coöperative movement which, in our belief, has already demonstrated by a success unprecedented in this country that it is qualified to represent the interests of true democracy in coping with the gigantic trusts and monopolies in the final struggle for supremacy, and

"Whereas, The Coöperative Association of America has within the past year accumulated a quarter of a million dollars of property and is now doing a volume of business equal to \$600,000 annually, with conditions established favorable to its future growth in compound ratio, and

"Whereas, We, as the Co-workers' Fraternity Company, own 90 per cent. of the capital stock of the Coöperative Association of America and are thereby legally empowered to be, in fact and in truth, the trustee of the rights of all co-workers of said Association and to give our guaranty for the permanent integrity of its coöperative purposes and the continued honesty of its administration; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we hereby call a National Coöperative Conference to be held in Lewiston, Maine, from June 20th to the 24th inclusive, 1902, and that persons throughout the nation who believe in the ideals of coöperation and who believe that coöperation is capable of democratizing the economic world be invited to attend this Conference as delegates for the general purpose of studying this movement, which has already made such signal success at Lewiston and which is now

branching out into various parts of the United States, and for devising some method by which they may all unite their forces and thereby give to this movement a momentum that will proceed with irresistible power in paving the way for the Coöperative Commonwealth."

The opportune time for the first real representative national conference of coöperators in this country is now. The country is dotted with small but noble coöperative societies and stores struggling against odds to survive and grow. The time is ripe for all these enterprises to seek the mutual advantages of union. The opportunity seems to be open for the first time in this country for a national federation of all coöperative interests.

The margin of profits in business on the whole has been greatly reduced during the last decade. The small percentages that are saved on discounts and by large purchases are oftentimes sufficient to give success to a coöperative enterprise that is in position to take advantage of them, where, without these discounts, failure would ensue.

It is essential for the rapid development of coöperation in this country that all coöperative stores make their purchases together, and furthermore that they push the sale and increase the consumption of coöperatively manufactured goods. A concerted effort should also be made for educating the public upon the subject of coöperation and thereby provide for an ever-increasing patronage from the public and the rapid extension of coöperative industry.

It can be truthfully said now that industrial coöperation has at last been successfully started in this country, and therefore I believe that it may be expected to proceed with the same electrical rapidity with which things move generally in the United States. From the June meetings in Lewiston it is expected there will proceed a new and widespread impulse for the establishment of industrial coöperation.

The State of Maine is an ideal summer resort. Delegates will find that attendance upon this Conference will be in fact a delightful summer outing. The local committee is arranging for pleasure parties and pleasure excursions for the enjoy-

ment of the visitors. The large City Hall and Coöperative Hall owned by the Association have been secured for the entire five days' session. There will be a business meeting each day devoted to developing and more firmly establishing coöperative enterprises. Public mass-meetings will also be held daily, at which many eminent men and women will be the speakers.

(Rev.) HIRAM VROOMAN.

Boston, Mass.

THE RUSSIAN REMEDY.

THE protagonist in the great world-drama of to-day is, by common consent, Russia. We may think of the semi-barbaric conditions, if we please, and quote Milton's picture of the Creation—"Now half appeared the tawny lion, pawing to be free." We never forget, however, that it is a lion that will bound to kingship the moment his limbs are released. A sense of primal vigor, unwasted vitality, boundless reserve of forces, is synonymous with the name of Russia. We are likewise conscious of a certain directness of vision and freshness of feeling that Americans, especially, have been in the habit of monopolizing. But it would be well for us to remember that, while we waited to be driven from our system of human slavery by fire and sword, a Russian Czar by one sweep of his pen struck off the chains of serfdom from millions of his subjects. While Christian Europe and America were busy with their mighty armaments, at the same time uttering "great swelling words" about universal peace and the disarmament of the nations, the Russian Cæsar startles the world by his Peace proclamation—the greatest utterance by far of the century, and one of the great utterances of time. Of course, we pious Englishmen and Americans cannot credit the semi-barbarous Czar with good faith. We have demonstrated our own superior faith and righteousness by making a most unblemished, even shining, record at the World's Peace Conference—then forthwith plunging into three of the most questionable wars of modern times.

If this sort of thing continues much longer all eyes will be turned toward the Steppes of Russia for the "Man on horse-back." He will not come "with confused noise of battle and garments rolled in blood," but as the Deliverer and Restorer. Even now it is being whispered that the great social emancipation that prophetic hearts are foretelling will be heard first like an incoming tide from those same boundless plains.

It is quite startling to our modern European smugness to find that the great Unitarian uprising in New England was anticipated several centuries by those early nomads the Cossacks. The Stundists, the apostles and martyrs of our latest social gospel, seem to have come to their philosophy not so much by original insight as by a sort of atavism in which there is a rebirth of the doctrines and practises of the ancient Slavs.

When we consider that this immemorial love of liberty, religious, political, and social, is joined with that peculiar Russian directness and spiritual sturdiness which marches in a straight line from the inner conviction to the practical enforcement, we may expect to be awakened some fine day by a social upheaval, as remarkable and unheralded as the Emancipation and Peace proclamations. If, as seems imminent, the next movement in the drama is to be the establishment of constitutional monarchy, when the mind of the people will get utterance in the government, we may be sure that profound and sweeping changes will astonish the civilized world. The ineradicable instincts of liberty are in the hearts of the people. In and through all the tumultuous, often savage, history made by the nation, the voice of the wild winds of the mighty Steppes is heard in unfailing undertone—"We must be free; we must be free!"

Two sets of influences are at work in the national life. They converge to the same point—as yet undefined but great and radical changes in government, as concessions to the demands of the people. The Nihilists of Russia must not for a moment be confounded with the wide-mouthed, rampant gentlemen of our red-flag processions and curbstone oratory. No; the true Russian Nihilist is single-hearted as a saint; as heedless of self, as devoted as a martyr. He comes of an ancient and honorable line. In remote generations of ancestors we see him the same indomitable man. Courtier, priest, or Cossack, it mattered little; first and always he must be free. He has always been as jealous of Church as of State. When Church and State struck hands, and, as one overwhelming power, confronted him, it never occurred to him to bow his

neck, but, taking his life in his hands, he fled to the Steppes—the great mother and teacher of free men.

We must not think of the Steppes as a huge, gaunt realm stretching lone and vast to a semi-arctic sky; possessed by wild beasts and wilder men; a boundless range of robber caravans; a retreat for rebels and outlaws who found in the savage loneliness of the interminable plains a protection more unassailable than armed forts. In those forlorn and lonely villages, in the hearts of those half-wild, solitary shepherds, have been nursed the great thoughts and purposes that *cannot* die out of human life. These progenitors of our modern Nihilists looked coldly upon the importation of Greek Christianity. They yielded reluctantly to its domination. They were the first to detect the ominous portents of a union between Church and State. Brotherhoods and societies were formed among those shepherd communities for the avowed purpose of keeping alive the ancient Slav spirit of independence, and resisting the encroachments of a debauched and perverted government. Much of the history that rings with the atrocities of Cossack uprisings and rebellions and massacres and reprisals and robberies is simply the inverted story of the monstrous usurpations and bloody exactions of an ambitious government, whose cruelties of administration were only equaled by the crudity and remorselessness of its religious superstitions. Successful rebellions go down in history with the name of the rebels writ large and fair—as martyrs and patriots. Unsuccessful rebellions go down to swell the account of the successful tyrant. Through all these direful centuries, from the introduction of Greek Christianity till the “unification” of Russia in Peter the Great, who announced himself as sole head of both Church and State, the people never once consented to such a union. “The people have persistently resisted the centralizing aims of ambitious politicians.”

Those centuries of unceasing turmoil and bloodshed and cruelty were the great school of Russian Nihilism. How can we blame men for rejecting both Church and State when Church and State had joined hands to “reverse the history and

traditions" of the people? The true Russian Nihilist of to-day is not for a moment to be thought of as a solitary man with a grievance or as a crank with a wild theory. Back of him is a long line of the prophets and apostles and martyrs of liberty. Round about him is a great cloud of witnesses, the unknown, the humble, the true-hearted who have peopled the mighty Steppes with memories and traditions of a race who "counted not their lives dear unto them" when liberty was imperiled. What the wild, irregular, outspeaking prophet was to Israel, the true Nihilist is to Russia. He strikes a deep chord in the popular heart. The government fears him and executes him, yet stands in awe of him as a distinct sign of the times.

We may expect much, therefore, from this insistent and relentless Nihilistic agitation. Its occasional tragedies stir the national imagination with pictures of the mighty days of old. Its remorseless criticism sharpens the popular political wits. Its deadly earnestness stings and rebukes the national apathy. Its virile logic and penetrating insight expose the anomalies of the present order. Even its Cassandra ravings are not without effect upon a people whose coldness is shot through with veins of Orientalism. The Russian year is not all arctic. A short, fierce summer drives its tropic heat into the sodden earth. A sudden outburst of social emancipation from the rigors of Russian despotism will not surprise those who have read the history with sympathy and with clear vision. "A nation shall be born in a day." The ancient prophecy has surprised our faith by its long tarrying. It will perhaps again surprise our faith by the unexpected quarter whence the fulfilment comes.

Over against the Nihilists with their fierce political methods is another class of agitators, more pacific in method but none the less persistent and determined in spirit—the school of Tolstoy. In the popular estimation of Europe and America, Tolstoy is regarded as a sort of social John the Baptist: "a voice crying in the wilderness;" a solitary genius, sitting apart from the people in his mental and moral elevation; a modern Isaiah,

whose voice rolls down upon a besotted and heedless nation. Some such picture of lonely and hopeless effort, of single-handed combat against impossible odds, of intellectual and spiritual forlorn-hope, comes to us with his name.

Every great man is great not by his difference from his fellows, but because he embodies more perfectly the spirit of his age. Into him have entered, as a true possession, the thinking and feeling and hoping and purposing of the common life of the people. Tolstoy is but a sign of his times—one of the long and honorable line that has never "failed of a man to sit on the throne." Tolstoyism is simply Nihilism (in the Russian sense) carried over into the intellectual realm. When the spirit of revolt is rife among the people, we find political leaders casting off old dogmas of the State, intellectual leaders rejecting outworn philosophies and sciences, while religious leaders are busy deposing ancient and decadent doctrines and customs of the Church. The methods may be various and the fields of operation apparently remote from one another, but the spirit is one—resistance to absolutism always and everywhere. This is characteristic of Slav history from Rurik to the last Nicholas.

By this token must we judge Tolstoy and his school. You ask, Has he advanced the solution of the standing problem of socialism—the vast inequalities in the conditions of the people? We answer no, if your question is put in the temper and method of political economy. No one is at all deceived by this startling picture of a Count hammering at the last in a corner of his summer palace. I doubt if he mends a shoe as well as his lumpish moujik neighbor, at work in a corner of his hovel. The Count in his big boots and peasant blouse, at work with his laborers in the field, does not deceive any one by his dramatic exhibition. His moujik neighbors know perfectly the great gulf that lies between him and them. We who look on see that the substance of the problem remains untouched, and he himself, by his self-assumed attitude as teacher and benefactor, plainly declares that he is still consciously the superior man acting a part among inferiors. If he could have over-

ridden the stanch will and sound sense of his clever wife and disposed of his vast property, and in deed and in truth could have settled down to peasant life, Russia would simply have had one more moujik, a rare and imposing moujik to be sure, but one whose son would be a moujik indeed.

In one generation Russia would slump back into the old slough. What then? Are Tolstoy and his followers simply engaged in a drama, serious, tragic, or serio-comic according to the predilections of the audience? No; Tolstoy is a Titan groping with insistent purpose and unfailing heart to get his mighty hand upon some world-force that he may wield to the accomplishment of his object. Or, if you please, he is a blind Samson, feeling after the central pillars of human wrong, willing to die with the multitude if only the unhallowed temple may fall. This sight of a great soul, utterly self-devoted to the cause of his suffering and needy countrymen, is the telling thing in Tolstoy and his school. He is a consummate artist, but never an artist for art's sake—always for man's sake. He is a courtier, but not to kings. He pays court to the human soul. He is rich, but not toward himself, nor toward his rich friends—always toward the man who needs. He is famous, but he diverts the gaze of an admiring world from himself to his moujik neighbors.

Tolstoy, by his teachings and by his life, is sounding through the world with the voice of a trumpet this one truth: Birth, education, literature, art, religion are ours—to make them man's. A gift in your hand means, first, last, and imperatively, but one thing: ministry, distribution. You shall not wait for a better system. You shall not first attack or abolish some ancient custom. Human need is as insistent, as autocratic, as hunger. This moujik who grooms your horse, or plows your field, or blacks your boots, is dull, brutish, ignorant, poor—in body and soul. Every pore of his being is an open mouth crying to you, "In the name of God, give, give, give!" There is your mission field—the world's mission field. There is your social problem—the world's social problem. In solving that problem by your truest thought and deepest sympathy will you

get kindly light, leading into the darkness and involution of the great world-problem.

All the leaders of the new and living literature of Russia have been characterized by the same intensity of purpose and singleness of aim. Pushkin the poet, who would have been the Russian Laureate if the Czar had been at all in the Laureate business, is the solitary exception. He seemed content to be the "idle singer of an empty day," or, as the old prophet sarcastically puts it, content to have "a pleasant voice and play well on an instrument." To read his dainty bits of song in their savage historic setting is like trying to listen to a nightingale on the field after battle. The melody silts down into the awful undertone of sobs and groans of dying men. Under the very tree where the heedless poet sits in song, a score of mangled corpses lie, with distorted faces to the moon and hands clutched into the bloody sod.

These Russian songlets, springing out of the reeking soil of the national history, remind one of the "Decameron," springing in flimsy texture and wanton color out of Boccaccio's terrific description of the plague.

In the great prose masters—Gogol, Turgeneff, Chernish-evsky, Tolstoy—we catch again the deep Russian note of earnestness, intensity, purpose. After Pushkin, it is like passing through a blossoming orchard full of birds and bees and coming within sound of the sea. "Sad sincerity" is too tame a term for such men. They wrought in a tumultuous, devouring passion for their great cause. "*Give us Russia or we die!*" was wrung from their hearts. Poverty, imprisonment, exile, death—these have been their portion. They have done for the intellectual and religious life of Russia what the Nihilists have done for its political life. Their revolutionary, inexorable truths have proved to the national Church what the shot of Karakassov, the bomb of Grinevsky, and the handkerchief of Sophie Lvovna have been to the national government. When such a bit of contemporaneous history as this can be written of a people, the beginning of the end is at hand.

"Young men who have been delicately brought up learn the

trade of the blacksmith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, or the locksmith in order to come more immediately into contact with the artisan classes; young women of the best families work in the factories like common peasants, or take a share as agriculturists in the labors of the field. Sometimes the propagandist becomes a tutor in a nobleman's family, or a governess engaged to teach languages in the house of a landowner, or even a woman doctor, winning friends for the cause in the guise of nurse and attendant."

These two classes of agitators are never jealous of each other; they never foil each other by cross-purposes. Their common enemy is the double-headed Autocracy, Church and State.

A blow at either is a blow at the other. Every assertion, whatever form it may take, of the right of the individual to himself, religiously or politically, is a blow direct at one or the other of these twin heads with one body. Tolstoy may call himself a man of peace. He may preach non-resistance to evil—back of him a society of "milk-drinkers;" yet, in spite of himself, he is hailed by Russia and the world as a mailed knight-errant whose every word is a telling blow of sword or thrust of lance.

Under this double process of agitation the progress of Russia has astonished the world. Her last century has been an apocalypse. A recognized literature of masterful force and artistic grace; an intolerant religious system, honey-combed by the inroads of freethought; a new education; a new social spirit; an unparalleled advance in internal improvements; a reformed judiciary with attendant reforms in legal procedure and punishments; the rigors of militarism humanized; the concessions of autocracy to practical constitutionalism; the emancipation proclamation; the peace manifesto! What a century! Compared with the endless debates and forensic reforms and pamphlet victories of Europe and Europeanized America, Russia's day is as our thousand years.

What, then, is the Russian remedy? Just this: Execution, not debate; the thing done, not argued; the fact accomplished,

not rehearsed as a dream. Two things fit Russia for this practical enforcement of ideals. First, Russia is young in national life. She has not yet lost faith in spiritual and intellectual convictions. We Europeans and Europeanized Americans have the caution and conservative timidity of middle life and old age. While we are peering and droning over our documents, this young, burly, self-confident giant comes and glances over our shoulder, and roars: "Yes; that's a good thing! I'll do it!"—and he does it. In the second place, this fearlessness and self-confidence of youth is reenforced and sustained by the Russian temperament. The cool, passive Russian blood is just dashed with Orientalism enough to give potency to mysticism and virile substance to ideals. Europeans, like ourselves, are bad sleepers and worse dreamers. The Russian sleeps calmly and dreams lucidly. He wakes believing in dreams. Then with dogged insistence, and when deeply roused with volcanic heat, he lives for, fights for, dies for his dream. To this vast, mixed, and dubious world-problem—the redemption of the people—Russia comes not as a "young Daniel to the judgment," but as a regenerate Samson to the long-deferred, long-prayed-for execution of judgment.

JAMES H. ECOB, D.D.

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A BIT OF OLD MEXICO.

THE Mexico of to-day reminds one of Japan a quarter of a century ago. It is a nation of vast and almost inexhaustible resources, which has slept through the ages, but which is now awakening into the new life of Western civilization. The marvelous material achievements of the sister Republic on the north are as a wonderful dream that haunts the imagination of the most of her people, but which is only realized in a limited degree by the majority; hence, here we find the interesting phenomenon of two civilizations in juxtaposition. The dreamy, listless, careless past and the awakened, bustling, and progressive present are face to face. The antithesis is startling. Take, for example, the city of Chihuahua, the capital of the State of the same name. Here we find two distinct civilizations, with ideals and dreams of life diametrically opposed, jostling each other at every turn.

Chihuahua is a town of about 30,000 inhabitants, of which perhaps 3,000 are foreigners—mostly English-speaking people. It is often called *the* American city of Mexico, largely owing to the thrifty spirit of push and energy that exists by the side of the easy-going life of the Mexicans and Spaniards. Here are to be found two large smelters, an extensive beef cannery, a clothing factory, a brewery, a soap factory, and other manufactories, which seem almost incongruous in the midst of the unique, old-time architecture that characterizes the place and reminds one more of the scenery of Palestine than anything in the United States.

I. WHERE THE SPIRIT OF THE PAST STILL DREAMS.

To the traveler, old Chihuahua, or that part of the town that represents the Mexico of the past, possesses a peculiar charm. The city lies at the base of the foothills of the Sierra Madre Mountains, on a plateau that is chiefly given over to stock cul-

ture and the cultivation of cereals. The majority of the homes are of adobe, a large proportion of which are covered with cement. Many are tinted various hues and colors, and not a few are painted to imitate the different kinds of marble, the whole serving to give a touch of Oriental brightness to the streets and adding much to the picturesqueness of the town, which, however, to the traveler from the States, is full of striking and impressive objects. Here, for example, are men wearing brilliant shawls and tall sombreros, many of which are ornamented with gold or silver laces, or made striking with vivid color effects. A bright sash is no uncommon sight, even on those whose clothing is far from the best. On every side one sees the little burros, loaded with heavy packs, patiently trudging along the streets, seemingly at peace with all the world. The town is also alive with the little Chihuahua dogs, clean, graceful, and attractive, with marvelous voices for such small creatures. The bull-fight, which regularly occurs on every Sunday afternoon, and the cock-fights, which may be seen almost any time, stamp the town as a true offspring of old Spain.

Most of the houses are flat-roofed and are but one story in height. There are few windows opening on to the streets, and thus we find long wall-like stretches, with wide doors at intervals, and little save the changing color of the exterior or a slight variation in the sky-line to indicate the existence of different houses. When once admitted to the interior, however, a far different scene greets the eye, if the house be that of a Mexican of means. The homes are built in the form of hollow squares, and the large courtyards are frequently filled with the most luxuriant growth of subtropical vines, shrubs, and flowers. Especially are roses in abundance, and their deep, rich perfume is mingled with various other fragrant blossoms, filling the air with exquisite odors. The doors of all the rooms open into this fairy-like garden, which is the pride of the home-loving and wealthy Mexican.

The courtyards of the very poor, however, are far from attractive. Frequently there are no signs of vegetation. The

bare, brown, dusty court is filled with a numerous brood of dirty children and little barking dogs, all apparently joying in the careless, simple life that makes so few demands upon the energies of its denizens. Here the poor seem to drift through life, little stimulated by ambition, content to dream rather than act, dwelling in a land where the weather is never cold enough to quicken the energies as it does in the northern States, and with simple tastes that are quite satisfied with an all-year-round diet of Indian meal and beans, varied occasionally with a little sugar-cane and other sweets. If the Mexicans resembled the Japanese in their love of bathing, they would be far more attractive; but for long generations the water facilities were very meager, especially during the long dry season, and even now the poor man must supply himself with water that at intervals is liberated from the great reservoirs and runs down gutters or trenches dug in the sides of the streets—and these facts doubtless account for much of the dirt one encounters among the poor.

From the high suburban lands one can gain an excellent view of the city and surrounding country. The old part of the town and the arid plains and mountains that form the background suggest in an almost startling manner the cities and towns of the Far East—of Asia Minor, Syria, or Palestine. Here for long squares stretch the low, flat-roofed houses, which look as though they might have been modeled after the homes of ancient Capernaum, and which in their various color effects suggest the Orient—white, green, brown, pink, blue, and light gray; while here and there, peeping up from the courts, we see the green tops of trees and shrubs, which are one of the chief glories of the homes of the wealthy among the people. Instead of the synagogues of olden times in Galilee, we here behold the stately towers of the great Cathedral, the less pretentious but graceful spires of the Church of Guadalupe, and the ancient but still less impressive church of San Francisco, the latter being built sixty years before the foundation of the city.

The sun, as in most southern lands, shines very brilliantly

over Chihuahua, emphasizing almost to exaggeration the high lights, and at times throwing over the town, plain, and mountains a sheen of golden light.

In that part of the city presided over by the spirit of the past are many objects of interest, chief among which are the great Cathedral and the Tower of Hidalgo. The former is a noble structure, erected at a cost of \$800,000, the money being raised by the levying of a small tax upon the output of the famous mines of Santa Eulalia, fifteen miles from the city. The building shows the signs of age and the still more savage hand of man in hours of war. But for the student of history, and especially for those who love the heroes and masters of progress, the Tower of Hidalgo holds special interest; for here it was that the great father of Mexican independence was incarcerated prior to his execution.

Hidalgo, Juarez, and Diaz are regarded as the three great emancipators and representatives of republican Mexico, the former being frequently styled the Washington of Mexico.

Hidalgo was a Mexican priest who ever evinced a passionate love for his people and a desire to see Mexico prosperous and independent of the burdens and oppressions of Spain. He introduced the silk-worm into Mexico and promoted the culture of the vine. This greatly offended the Spanish government, and as a result the vines and trees were destroyed. Hidalgo retaliated, raising the standard of revolt, and for a time conducted a remarkably successful campaign. The Church, however, soon arraigned herself against the cause of freedom, and the priest, who had been passionately followed by the native Mexicans, was betrayed by one of his own officers. He was finally arrested and confined at Chihuahua until the order for his execution was carried into effect. To-day the most commanding and imposing monument in the city of Chihuahua is the great statue of Hidalgo, which faces the State House and occupies the site of his execution; and he is a dull-eyed Mexican indeed whose face does not brighten at the mention of the name of the martyr of liberty.

II. WHERE THE SPIRIT OF THE FUTURE WAVES HER WAND.

Such is the Chihuahua of the past, shadowing forth in a striking way a civilization that is vanishing before the imperious demands of modern life as surely as did the civilization of the Aztecs go down before the sword and the Cross of Spain. And nowhere is the subtle but very real warfare between the Mexico of past generations and the awkward Mexico of to-day and to-morrow—between the spirit of the listless, decaying yesterday and the restless, onward-moving genius of material progress—more strikingly in evidence than in this great city of northern Mexico, where, jostling side by side with the ancient cathedrals, the historic churches, and the famous prison tower, rise noble and stately modern buildings and great manufacturing and commercial houses that speak of the new order, impregnated and infused with that wide-awake, progressive, and indomitable spirit which has lifted the sister Republic of the north to the first place among the nations of the world.

Among the most striking of the public buildings of the new Chihuahua is the Palace, or State House. It is a large, imposing edifice, built in the form of a hollow square and occupying a large area opposite El Plaza Hidalgo. This noble structure, which is richly furnished, is in every way a credit to the growing State.

Another building that rises high above all the structures in the neighborhood, save the Palace and the great Cathedral, and that is strictly modern in all its appointments, is the new and magnificent Theater of Chihuahua, built by the State at a cost of \$1,000,000. It is a splendid edifice, larger and more attractive in its interior than any theater in New York City, excepting the Metropolitan Opera House. The interior of the theater resembles the French and Continental opera houses rather than the theaters of the United States. On the invitation of His Excellency, Don Miguel Ahumada, Governor of the State of Chihuahua, we attended a Sunday evening performance, in which home talent presented a bright Spanish comedy and a

musical afterpiece. The Governor takes great pride in his theater, and is doing a great work in stimulating the musical, artistic, dramatic, and literary tastes of his people. And indeed the splendid progress that has marked the history of Chihuahua during recent years is very largely due to this thoroughly progressive statesman, who has done much to attract foreign capital and enterprise to his State; and his efforts to improve the capital city and bring it into line with the larger demands of modern commercial life will be appreciated far more in the future than they are to-day, because a large proportion of the population is unawakened to the possibilities that lie at its door.

B. O. FLOWER.

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THE ANCIENT WORKING PEOPLE.

WE have hardly yet arrived at the conception of history, as an interpretation of the economic activities and intellectual development of the race, that Buckle, in his monumental effort, attempted nearly half a century ago. Accounts of dynasties, battles, sieges, and political intrigues still occupy a preponderant place in popular historical writing. To be at once an economist, a sociologist, and a political philosopher, attractively combining these qualities to illumine the history of peoples, demands gifts as high as they are rare.

Especially difficult is the task of a writer who sets out to depict a widespread social and industrial movement of ancient times. Not only are authentic records meager and imperfect, but from authors whose opinions on other matters may be considered trustworthy no impartial or accurate statement with respect to the condition and aspirations of the laboring classes can either be expected or obtained. Nor is this due so much to inability or lack of veracity on the part of ancient writers as to the prevalent class bias incident to a society based upon slavery and in which consequently labor was habitually looked upon as a degradation.

About thirteen years ago there appeared from the pen of C. Osborne Ward, a brother of Lester F. Ward, the eminent American sociologist, a remarkable book containing the fruits of much learning and extensive research in a field seldom trodden by the historian. A second volume of the same work, "The Ancient Lowly," has been recently published. The first was devoted to the uprisings of slaves in early times, for which the data were found chiefly in the fragmentary remains of ancient writers, some of whom were contemporaries of the events recorded. It also described the organizations of the slaves and other ancient workers. This study is carried down in the second volume to the year 303 of our era. Inscriptions

preserved to the present day on stones and monuments that have been discovered in the ancient cities of Italy and Asia Minor form the basis of these investigations. The so-called trades-unions are traced by Mr. Ward to the laws of Solon and the Twelve Tables of Numa.

His enthusiasm for paternal socialism carries the author quite beyond his function as a historian. In the religious rites and ceremonies of the lowly his fervid imagination sees the fraternal labor union. In their sacramental feasts he discovers the common table of the socialist community, uniting in brotherly love thousands of humble toilers. He appears to confuse the plebeians of ancient Rome with the laboring classes who possessed no political status at that period of her history. But the plebs, whose legally recognized leaders were the tribunes, had struggled for centuries to gain political rights and finally succeeded; while the servile working people, who were then the economically productive class, remained to the end outside the pale of citizenship.

When we approach the study of ancient society from the standpoint of sociology, we learn that the family hearth, the domestic altar and worship, formed the strongest bond that held together the men of those times. Religion was the keystone of the social structure. Yet Osborne Ward hesitates not to classify as labor unions, fraternally bound by an economic tie, associations that were primarily religious. He concedes, however, that these tutelary organizations cultivated the belief in the coming of a Savior who would redeem the world, and that they erected temples to their chosen gods. We might add that "Saviors" were not infrequent phenomena in those days—the Great Nazarene being but one among many.

With undisguised admiration, Ward expatiates upon the circumstance that the unions were modeled after the family, having meals in common, a paternal head wielding much authority, besides other patriarchal characteristics. But this merely indicates the stage of social development, the family and not the individual forming the unit of society. Not only was it the social unit, but the family was also the fountain of

religious worship. No family, no religion; and without a form of worship man became a social outcast. He could have neither political nor legal status.

Again, in the blending of the family, religion, and society, does Mr. Ward recognize socialism, and he deduces a communistic basis for his ancient labor unions. In later times, however, as Mommsen has shown, the original religious character of the unions becomes merely a cloak for other objects.

It is in his explanation of Christianity that this investigator best displays his peculiar genius. If not novel, his views have at least the merit of sincerity. Jesus is no longer a great spiritual teacher, not to say divine, nor merely a moral lawgiver. Rather is he a walking delegate, a peripatetic labor agitator, an itinerant social reformer. The apostles are all connected with their respective trades-unions. Luke, who was their historian, was in fact president of a union of journeymen doctors. Paul likewise was a walking delegate and a powerful agitator. Christianity, in short, from the beginning was an industrial movement, spreading among the working class, who saw in this new religion a promise of economic emancipation.

Let us candidly admit that this picture of the early Church is not wholly destitute of truth. Yet the evidence as here presented is by no means conclusive. Nor need we deny that, on a thread of conjecture supported by hypothesis, he has woven a texture displaying some interesting and instructive historic truth.

Throughout this pretentious work the partizan palpably usurps the place of the historian. Except perhaps in pointing to sources of original information, serviceable to the special student, Osborne Ward's book conspicuously fails as a lasting or important contribution to sociology. Its style is diffuse, florid, and bristling with needless repetition. Few readers would have the patience to go through the twelve or thirteen hundred close-packed pages; and it is doubtful if they would find enough reward for their pains. The author indulges in a display of languages both living and dead, which, while evi-

dence of his linguistic accomplishments, is more likely to repel than attract the class of readers who desire to learn about the struggles and organization of the ancient workingmen.

If the conclusions set forth in this work are sound, trades-unionism in ancient times was ramified over the then civilized world, embracing millions of laboring men and women within its beneficent folds. Its members were the first to accept the Christian gospel, with its ideas of universal brotherhood and equality, which thence spread from the bottom upward through all ranks of society. The unions were friendly societies, supporting, without the taint of charity, disabled and out-of-work members. It would appear indeed from numerous extant inscriptions that these associations of laborers were ostensibly burial clubs. Among other activities they conducted free schools for the children of the workers. From the Roman government they took contracts for many kinds of industrial undertakings, erected public buildings, constructed roads and bridges, and supplied munitions of war to the imperial armies. They threw their influence in favor of candidates for public office who promised to turn over such contracts to organized labor. In a word, they aimed to become privileged monopolists, seeking their own immediate ends like their successors, the guilds of later times, or the great corporations of to-day, that exploit the general welfare for their own emolument.

To Osborne Ward, however, those ancient working-class politicians are worthy the emulation and imitation of their modern descendants. Let us go back, he cries, "to that pure, sweet, lovely, self-supporting socialism outlined by the great law of Solon!"

Though they flourished, we are told, for about nine centuries, an appalling tragedy seems to have at last terminated the commendable efforts and growing power of these vast economic associations. About the year 303 A. D., the emperor Diocletian allowed himself to be persuaded to countenance a wholesale massacre of organized toilers. They were charged with harboring Christians, whom persecution sought to devour. Notwithstanding our author's habit of jumbling indiscrimi-

nately together all matters pertaining to the unions and Christianity, it is evident that the ghastly scheme of extermination perpetrated in numerous cities of the empire was after all only one of the many attempts officially to stamp out the robust and rapidly spreading religion of Jesus Christ. Mr. Ward closes with a lament that after the date of this massacre all records of the labor unions disappear. But he passes over a more potent cause of the decay and ultimate obliteration of the ancient workingmen's movement. This was the gradual rise of feudalism as a new economic basis of society, which began with the overthrow of the empire by the barbarians.

WILLIAM BAILIE.

Boston, Mass.

ARE WOMEN TO BLAME?

THERE is food for thought in two incidents recently reported that directly affect the welfare of working-women. They seem to indicate that, while woman is making phenomenal progress where such progress naturally would be least expected, she is not holding her own in those departments of the business world that she first "invaded."

In both Washington and Chicago complaint is made that preference is given to men in making civil-service appointments that are open to both sexes. This is not only possible but legally permissible, because the law gives the department head making a requisition for a clerk or a stenographer the right to say whether he will have a man or a woman for the position. There may be ten women ahead of the first man on the "eligible list," but, if the department head prefers a man, the man will get the job and the women will have to wait. And that men are preferred has been conclusively proved; indeed, it is frankly admitted. Now, the question is, Why? That is what women are interested in knowing. Is it a mere matter of prejudice, or are they in any way to blame?

The woman suffragist naturally will say that it is due to politics; that men are wanted because men can *vote*—and in some instances that may be true. If it were possible to select the particular individual desired, doubtless it would be true in many instances, but in the civil service this cannot be done. There is no opportunity to reward political services in that way. The Republican official making a requisition for a male stenographer may have a Democrat certified to him for the place, and politically a Democrat would be of less use to a Republican official than a woman who took no interest in politics whatever. Still, it may be admitted that in some circumstances political considerations may occasionally account for this preference on the part of municipal officials, but that certainly cannot be true of the governmental departments at Washington.

When the first prejudice against women clerks and stenographers was overcome, there was a great demand for them. They were neater than men, less obtrusive, more conscientious, and more trustworthy, it was said. They did not want to smoke in the office, and certain other masculine failings were notable for their absence. Apparently they were to have everything their own way in those lines of work for which they were so well qualified; yet now we find the preference given to men—not only in the public service, but in many business establishments as well. Why?

The answer has been given in both Washington and Chicago, and in almost the same words in each case. In effect it is: Because woman is not willing to relinquish those prerogatives to which she has been accustomed; because, while claiming equality, she demands more than equality; because she presumes on her sex in a sphere where there are supposed to be no sex considerations. In the business world she would be considered as a man whenever that is to her advantage, and never otherwise. She asks that her sex be forgotten when that is for her benefit, and that it be remembered when it will entitle her to any favor.

"We have found that woman will take all the privileges due her under the rules, and a few more," was the explanation of a Washington official who was asked the reason of the preference for men. "For instance, every clerk is entitled to one month's vacation and one month's sick leave each year. The latter is supposed to be taken only in case of necessity, and few of the men ever use it up, while most of the women take it right up to the last minute. In that they presume upon their sex, for one hesitates to call them to account as he would the men. Then it takes them longer to get ready to begin work and longer to get ready to quit. About fifteen minutes at each end of the working-day is devoted to 'prinking,' and here again they presume on their sex. If a man did it, he would be called to account about the second day; but a woman would think she was insulted if anything were said to her. Let a man and a woman enter the office at the same

moment, and the man will be at his desk and at work a good fifteen minutes before the woman is ready to begin her labors; and the time she takes to make herself look presentable is taken, not out of her own time, but out of the time for which she is paid by the Government. These may seem to be small matters, but they are annoying to the one who has need of her services, and in time he naturally acquires a preference for a male stenographer, who expects no unusual consideration and can be reprimanded without danger of a flood of tears or a flashing, indignant eye. A woman takes, not as a favor but as a right, what a man would not dare take at all, and then relies on her sex to protect her from criticism or reproof. Of course, not all of them do this; but there are enough, so that the department head feels that he is taking long chances if he accepts a woman as a stenographer."

"Frankly," said a Chicago municipal official, discussing the same subject, "women are not as amenable to office discipline as are the men. One hesitates to speak to a woman as he would to a man, and in many instances she takes advantage of this. In private life it is a feminine privilege to be unpunctual and dilatory, but the privilege cannot be extended in the business world. If she keeps us waiting when we call to take her to the theater, we laugh and make a joke of it; but if she keeps us waiting when we have need of her services in a business way, we inwardly decide that we will replace her with a man when opportunity offers. This was well illustrated in a case that came under my observation recently. The young woman in question was supposed to report promptly at 9 o'clock, and surely that is not too early; but it was close to 9:30 when she reached her desk.

"'You should try to be more punctual, Miss Smith,' suggested the man who was waiting to dictate some letters to her.

"'Why, I was in the office right on the minute,' she protested, indignantly.

"'Not at your desk,' he returned.

"'Oh, no; of course not,' she answered. 'I had to straighten my hair out a little.'

"That was her idea of punctuality. That she was not at her desk was of no importance so long as she was in the office on time. Further than that, the office work is a secondary consideration with some women; there are other matters that they deem of more pressing importance. I have known of cases where they calmly asked for a few days off to help with the spring house-cleaning, and they certainly seem to have little appreciation of the annoyance even a brief absence occasions. While at work they are frequently more trustworthy than the average man, but there is a greater uncertainty as to when they will be at work. In a word, they expect the same gallant consideration to be shown them in the business world that they receive in private life, and their calm assumption of this sex privilege makes them more difficult to manage in an office force. Understand me, I do not bring this charge against all; but it is true of enough of them, so that most department heads prefer to take chances with a man."

In some of the large corporations practically the same statement is made, but in the case of these there is the further consideration that they frequently desire employees who can be promoted when there are vacancies, and women are eligible for but few of the higher positions. Here the civil-service idea, instead of helping them, operates to their disadvantage. At the same time women are doing better with the corporations than in the public service. Possibly this may be accounted for, in a measure, by the fact that a woman will work for less money than a man will accept; and, of course, the same argument applies to all lines of private business. Yet it cannot be denied that the male stenographer is increasing, rather than decreasing, in popularity in the business world, especially when the duties of a private secretary are in any way included in the work. In explaining this so far as he was concerned one business man told a story that is amusing and also illustrative of the manner in which woman's very femininity sometimes stands in her way.

"No more girls for me," said this man, brusquely; "it's too hard to discharge them if they don't suit. When a man fails

to come up to specifications, you can tell him so and that settles it; but with a girl—" Here he frowned and then sighed, as if he had been through some particularly disagreeable experience. "Well, I had one not long ago," he went on, "and she couldn't spell. That seemed to her a trifling matter, but not so to me. However, I put up with her work for a while simply because she was a woman, but finally I had to let her go. And what do you suppose she did? Why, sir, she came into my private office and wept on my desk until she had me unfit for work for all the rest of the day. I felt as if I had been through a melodrama in real life. That settled me, and I'll take no chance of repeating the experience."

In presenting these observations there is no desire to rail at woman. She has done, and is doing, extraordinarily well in the business world; she has been successful where the disadvantages have been great and the prospect of success slight; she has invaded new fields and seemed to thrive on obstacles. But is she not losing in those fields she already has conquered? And if so, why? Is she to blame? Have the men quoted stated the case correctly? Does she tire of her long-sought equality with man the moment she has won a victory? Is it only when battling against odds, against prejudice, that she shows to advantage in the business world?

Of course, woman will never be entirely supplanted in the fields now open to her; but if the tide has set ever so slightly against her it is well that she should know it and give consideration to the reasons therefor. These may also explain why her labor is so generally quoted at a smaller price than man's, which certainly is unfair if she does as much and as good work. The fact that she will work for less will make her an important factor in the labor world, whether or not man excels her; but if some of the more highly paid avenues of employment ostensibly within her reach are being closed to her, it is advisable that she should know why in order that she may remove the cause. The subject certainly seems to be one that deserves her attention.

ELLIOTT FLOWER.

Chicago, Ill.

THE GLORY AND THE SACRIFICE.

A STORY.

BY ELEANOR H. PORTER.

The Hon. Peter Wentworth was not a church-going man, and when he appeared at the prayer-meeting on that memorable Friday evening there was at once a most irreligious, impious interest manifested by every one present, even to the tired little minister himself. The object of their amazed glances fortunately did not keep the good people long in suspense. After a timid prayer—slightly incoherent, but abounding in petitions for single-mindedness and worshipful reverence—from the minister's wife, the Hon. Peter Wentworth rose to his feet and loudly cleared his throat:

"Ahem! Ladies and gentlemen—er—ah—brethren," he corrected, hastily, faint memories of a godly youth prompting his now unaccustomed lips; "I—er—I understand that you are desirous of building a new church. A very laudable wish—very," with his eyes fixed on a zigzag crack in the wall across the room; "and I understand that your funds are—er—insufficient. I am, in fact, informed that you need two thousand dollars. Ahem! Ladies—er—brethren, I stand here to announce that on the first day of next January I will place in your pastor's hands the sum of one thousand dollars, provided—" and he paused and put the tips of his forefingers together impressively, "provided you will raise an equal amount on your own part. The first day of next January, remember. You have nearly a year, you will notice, in which to raise the money. I—er—I hope you will be successful;" and he sat down heavily.

The remainder of that meeting was not conspicuous for deep spirituality, and after the benediction the Hon. Peter Wentworth found himself surrounded by an excited crowd of grate-

ful church members. The honorable gentleman was distinctly pleased. He had not given anything away before since—well, he had the same curious choking feeling in his throat now that he remembered to have felt when he gave the contents of his dinner pail to the boy across the aisle at the old red school-house. After all, it was a rather pleasant sensation; he almost wished it had oftener been his.

It was not until the silent hours of the night brought a haunting premonition of evil to the Rev. John Grey that the little minister began to realize what the church had undertaken. One thousand dollars! The village was small and the church society smaller. The Hon. Peter Wentworth was the only man who by even the politest fiction could be called rich. Where, indeed, was the thousand to be found?

When morning came, the Rev. John Grey's kindly blue eyes were troubled, and his forehead drawn into unwonted lines of care; but his fathers had fought King George and the devil in years long past, and he was a worthy descendant of a noble race and had no intention of weakly succumbing, even though King George and the devil now masqueraded as a two-thousand-dollar debt.

By the end of a week an urgent appeal for money had entered the door of every house in Fairville. The minister had spent sleepless nights and weary days in composing this masterly letter. His faithful mimeograph had saved the expense of printing, and his youngest boy's willing feet had obviated the necessity of postage stamps. The First Congregational Church being the only religious organization in the town of Fairville, John Grey had no hesitation in asking aid from one and all alike.

This was in February, yet by the end of May there was only four hundred dollars in the Fund treasury. The pastor sent out a second appeal, following it up with a house-to-house visit. The sum grew to six hundred dollars.

Then the ladies held a mass-meeting in the damp, ill-smelling vestry. The result was a series of entertainments varying from a strawberry festival to the "passion play" illustrated.

The entertainers were indefatigable. They fed their guests with baked beans and "red flannel" hash, and acted charades from the Bible. They held innumerable guessing contests, where one might surmise as to the identity of a baby photograph or conjecture as to the cook of a mince pie. These heroic efforts brought the Fund up to eight hundred dollars. Two hundred yet to be found—and it was November!

With anxious faces and puckered brows, the ladies held another meeting in that cheerless vestry—then hastened home with new courage and a new plan.

Bits of silk and tissue-paper, gay-colored worsteds and knots of ribbon appeared as by magic in every cottage. Weary fingers fashioned impossible fancy articles of no earthly use to any one, and tired housewives sat up till midnight dressing dolls in flimsy muslin. The church was going to hold a fair! Everything and everybody succumbed graciously or ungraciously to the inevitable. The prayer-meetings were neglected, the missionary meetings postponed, the children went ragged to school, and the men sewed on their own buttons. In time, however, the men had to forego even that luxury, and were obliged to remain buttonless, for they themselves were dragged into the dizzy whirl and set to making patchwork squares.

The culminating feature of the fair was to be a silk crazy-quilt, and in an evil moment Miss Wiggins, a spinster of uncertain age, had suggested that it would be "perfectly lovely" to have the gentlemen contribute a square each. The result would have made the craziest inmate of a lunatic asylum green with envy. The square made by old Deacon White, composed of pieces of blue, green, scarlet, and purple silk fastened together as one would sew the leather on a baseball, came next to the dainty square of the town milliner's covered with embroidered butterflies and startling cupids. Nor were the others found wanting in variety. It was indeed a wonderful quilt.

The fair and a blizzard began simultaneously the first day of December. The one lasted a week, and the other three days. The people conscientiously plowed through the snow, attended the fair, and bought recklessly. The children made themselves

sick with rich candies, and Deacon White lost his temper over a tin trumpet he drew in the grab bag. At the end of the week there were three cases of nervous prostration, one of pneumonia, two of grippe—and one hundred dollars and five cents in money.

The ladies drew a long breath and looked pleased; then their faces went suddenly white. Where was ninety-nine dollars and ninety-five cents to come from in the few days yet remaining? Silently and dejectedly they went home.

It was then that the Rev. John Grey rose to the occasion and shut himself in his study all night, struggling with a last appeal to be copied on his faithful mimeograph and delivered by his patient youngest born. That appeal was straight from the heart of an all but despairing man. Was two thousand dollars to be lost—and because of a paltry ninety-nine dollars and ninety-five cents?

The man's face had seemed to age a dozen years in the last twelve months. Little streaks of gray showed above his temples, and his cheeks had pitiful hollows in them. The minister's family had meat but twice a week now. The money that might have bought it for the other five days had gone to add its tiny weight to the minister's contribution to the Fund.

The pressure was severe and became crushing as the holidays approached. The tree for the Sunday-school had long since been given up, but Christmas eve a forlorn group of wistful-eyed children gathered in the church and spoke Christmas pieces and sung Christmas carols, with longing gaze fixed on the empty corner where was wont to be the shining tree.

It was on Christmas day that the widow Blake fought the good fight in her little six-by-nine room. On the bed lay a black cashmere gown, faded and rusty and carefully darned; on the table lay a little heap of bills and silver. The woman gathered the money in her two hands and dropped it into her lap; then she smoothed the bills neatly one upon another, and built little pyramids of the dimes and quarters. Fifteen dollars! It must be five years now that she had been saving that money, and she did so need a new dress! She needed it to be

—why—even decent!—looking sourly at the frayed folds on the bed.

It was on Christmas day, too, that the little cripple who lived across the bridge received a five-dollar gold piece by registered mail. Donald's eyes shone and his thin fingers clutched the yellow gold greedily. Now he could have those books!—his eyes rested on an open letter on the floor by his chair: a mimeograph letter signed "John W. Grey." Gradually his fingers relaxed; the bit of money slipped from the imprisoning clasp, fell to the floor, and rolled in flashing, gleaming circles round and round the letter, ending in a glistening disk, like a seal, just at the left of the signature. The lad looked at the yellow, whirling thing with frightened eyes, then covered his face with his hands, and burst into a storm of sobs.

On the twenty-sixth of December, the Rev. John Grey entered on his list: "Mrs. Blake, \$15.00; Donald Marsh, \$5.00."

The little minister's face grew pale and drawn. The money came in bit by bit, but it wanted twenty dollars and ninety-five cents yet to complete the needed thousand. On the twenty-seventh day the teacher of the infant class brought a dollar, the gift of her young pupils. On the twenty-eighth, nothing came; on the twenty-ninth, five cents from a small boy who rung the bell with a peal that brought the Rev. John Grey to the door with a startled hope in his eyes. He took the five pennies from the small dirty fingers and opened his mouth to speak his thanks, but his dry lips refused to frame the words.

The morning of the thirtieth dawned raw and cloudy. The little minister neither ate nor slept now. The doorbell rang at brief intervals throughout the day, and stray quarters, dimes, and nickels, with an occasional dollar, were added to the precious store until it amounted to nine hundred and eighty-nine dollars and eighty-five cents.

When the Rev. John Grey looked out of his bedroom window on the last day of that weary year, he found a snow-white world, and the feathery flakes still falling. Five times that day he swept his steps and shoveled out his path—mute invitations to possible donors; but the path remained white and

smooth in untrodden purity, and the doorbell was ominously silent.

He tried to read, to write, to pray; but he haunted the windows like a maiden awaiting her lover, and he opened the door and looked up and down the street every fifteen minutes. The poor man had exhausted all his resources. He himself had given far more than he could afford, and he had begged of every man, woman, and child in the place. And yet—must two thousand dollars be lost, all for the lack of ten dollars and fifteen cents? Mechanically he thrust his hands into his pockets and fingered the few coins therein.

It was nearly midnight when there came a gentle tap at the study door. Without waiting for permission the minister's wife turned the knob and entered the room. Her husband sat with bowed head resting on his outstretched arms on the desk, and her eyes filled with tears at the picture of despair before her.

"John, I suppose we can take this," said she, in a low voice, reluctantly laying a little pile of silver on the desk; "there's just ten dollars there." Then she recoiled in terror, so wildly did her husband clutch the money.

"Where did you get this?" he gasped.

"I—I saved it from time to time out of the household money. I meant you should take it and go out to cousin Frank's for a rest and vacation after this was over," said she, doggedly.

"Vacation! Mary—vacation!" he exclaimed, with unutterable scorn. Then he fumbled in his pocket and brought out a little change. With trembling fingers he picked out ten pennies and a five-cent piece, putting a lone quarter back in his empty pocket.

"Thank God, Mary—we've done it!" and the man's voice broke, and a big tear rolled down his cheek and splashed on a dingy nickel.

New Year's night there was a jubilee meeting in the town hall. The Rev. John Grey hurried through his bread-and-milk supper in some excitement. He was to preside, and must not be late.

The hall was full to overflowing. On the platform with the minister sat the deacons of the First Congregational Church—and the Hon. Peter Wentworth. The well-fed, well-groomed, honorable gentleman himself looked about with a complacent smile—this was indeed a most delightful occasion.

The Rev. John Grey's address was an eloquent tribute to the great generosity of their distinguished fellow-townsmen. The minister's voice trembled affectingly, and his thin cheeks flushed with emotion. The First Congregational Church was deeply indebted to the Hon. Peter Wentworth, and would fain express its gratitude.

The minister's wife listened with a faraway look on her face, and little Donald Marsh gazed with round eyes of awe at the great man who had been so very generous; while over in an obscure corner of the hall a pale little woman stealthily rearranged the folds of her gown, that she might hide from inquisitive eyes the great darn on the front breadth of her worn black cashmere.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

SOME DEAD SEA FRUIT OF OUR WAR OF SUBJUGATION.

In his testimony before the United States Senate Committee, Governor Taft made a humiliating admission that should strike horror to the mind of every American. He admitted that the frightful torture known as the "water-cure treatment" was used occasionally by the soldiers of this Republic to force the unhappy Filipinos to disclose desired information.

This treatment consists of placing the victim on his back and pouring water down his throat until the body is so distended as to cause exquisite suffering, which is intensified by the fear entertained by the victim that his stomach will burst. It is a reversion to the brutal spirit that made the days of the Spanish Inquisition the darkest page in the history of Christian civilization. Nor is the treatment as outlined above the worst that reports from the Philippines indicate as being indulged in upon occasion by our soldiers. It would be difficult to imagine anything more debauching and degrading, or better calculated to arouse all that is most brutal and savage in the nature of our soldiers, than to be compelled by officers to assist in such barbarous and inhuman actions.

All students of history and human life know full well that when injustice and savagery are once awakened and practised they rapidly brutalize those familiar with them. A people that tolerates a government practising any injustice to others will ere long be oppressed; and officers who become brutalized and hardened by torturing the weak enemy will ere long show the same brutality toward those under them. Therefore, the story of the frightful death by torture of Private Edward C. Richter of the United States Army in the Philippines is not altogether surprising. According to the very circumstantial report of the death, given by a companion who was ordered by his officer to pour the ice-water, young Richter was among a group of his

comrades, who after being paid off had indulged too freely in liquor. He became hilarious and disregarded an order of the superior officer to remain silent. Accordingly, he was bound hand and foot and had ice-water poured on his head until in agony he expired.

In this war of subjugation—this relentless attempt at forcible annexation, which Mr. McKinley on one occasion characterized as being "criminal aggression" and "something not to be thought of"—horror treads on the heels of horror. Here, for example, is one of the fruits of our criminal aggression. It is a typical case, a news item that went out in March and attracted little attention because the people are becoming accustomed to such appalling facts. We take it as it appears in the news columns of one of our exchanges:

"A tourist car carrying 18 insane men under the guard of a detachment of 105 soldiers rolled into the Omaha depot on the 16th. The lunatics were American soldiers who had gone violently crazy under the hardships and vices attendant upon military service in the Philippines."

Below is another humiliating bit of testimony, which but for General Miles would not have come to public notice, and which throws a strong sidelight on the tendency of an army engaged in a war of conquest to degenerate and become brutal. Near the close of last year Major Cornelius Gardner, civil governor of the Philippine province of Tayabas, forwarded to Washington a detailed report that appears to have been promptly pigeonholed by Secretary Root. After General Miles had referred to its existence, some members of the Senate Committee called for it, and on April 10 it was laid before the Senate. In this report Major Gardner says:

"Of late by reason of the conduct of the troops such as the extensive burning of the barrios in trying to lay waste the country so that the insurgents cannot occupy it, the torturing of natives by so-called water-cure and other methods to obtain information, the harsh treatment of natives generally, and the failure of inexperienced lately-appointed lieutenants commanding posts to distinguish between those who are friendly and those unfriendly and to treat every native as if he were, whether or no, an *insurrecto* at heart, this favorable sentiment, above referred to, is being fast destroyed and a deep hatred toward us engendered. If these things need be done, they had best be done by native troops, so that the people of the United States will not be credited therewith.

"Almost without exception, soldiers and also many officers refer to natives in their presence as 'Niggers,' and natives are beginning to understand what the word 'Nigger' means. The course now being pursued

in this province and in the provinces of Batangas, Laguna, and Samar is in my opinion sowing the seeds for a perpetual revolution against us hereafter whenever a good opportunity offers. Under present conditions the political situation in this province is slowly retrograding, the American sentiment is decreasing, and we are daily making permanent enemies. In the course above referred to, troops make no distinction often between the property of those natives who are insurgent or insurgent sympathizers, and the property of those who heretofore have risked their lives by being loyal to the United States and giving us information against their countrymen in arms. Often every house in a barrio is burned. In my opinion the small number of irreconcilable insurgents still in arms, although admittedly difficult to catch, does not justify the means employed, and especially when taking into consideration the suffering that must be undergone by the innocent and its effects upon the relations with these people hereafter."

Under the title of "Three Forms of Torture Applied by Americans to Natives in the Philippines," the *New York World* of April 18 contained the following, which cannot fail to awaken horror and humiliation in the mind of every conscientious lover of the Republic. The revelations being brought to the light of day by the Senate investigation seem incredible, and indicate that the ferocious inhumanity of the Spanish Inquisition and the savagery of the red men of America have been present in the army of the Republic. Read the following description, as given by the *World*, of the way our soldiers have tortured the Filipinos, and then resolve whether or not the hour has arrived when every American patriot should insist that this cruel, unjust war of subjugation or criminal aggression must be brought to an immediate close:

"*Water-Cure*," No. 1.—This is used to extort information from Philippine prisoners. The victim is first bound hand and foot and laid on his back on the ground. Great quantities of water are then forced down his throat until he can hold no more. Pressure is then applied to the stomach until some of the water is expelled from the mouth, when more water is forced down. This process is repeated until the victim either gives the information required or dies.

"*Water-Cure*," No. 2.—Used to extort information from prisoners and also as a punishment for enlisted men. It consists in tying the victim securely and then pouring ice-cold water, a little at a time, on his face or dropping it on the back of his neck or on his head. This is an ancient form of torture, and was used during the Inquisition, sometimes, in preference to the rack or searing with red-hot irons. It is certain to drive the victim insane in a short time, or kill him.

Progressive Wounding.—This is a form of torture practised by officers sometimes when they wish to impress the natives, and it may be

compared to the blowing of Indian leaders from the mouth of cannon by the British during the Sepoy Mutiny, except that it is more lingering. The victims are bound to trees and shot—not to kill, but merely wound them. If they do not die from loss of blood, they are shot again the following day, and this is kept up from day to day until they die. Three days is usually the limit they can live. The North American Indians formerly used this form of torture, except that they wounded their victims with arrows. In the testimony given at the court-martial of Major Waller at Manila recently this form of torture was described.

In the same issue of the *World*, Richard O'Brien, formerly a corporal in Company M, Twenty-sixth United States Volunteers, now living in New York, gave the following detailed description of the barbarity and wanton brutality of our soldiers—practised on the defenseless inhabitants of Barrio la Nog:

"It was on the 27th day of December, the anniversary of my birth," said Corpl. O'Brien, "and I shall never forget the scenes I witnessed on that day. As we approached the town the word passed along the line that there would be no prisoners taken. It meant that we were to shoot every living thing in sight—man, woman, and child. The first shot was fired by the then first sergeant of our company. His target was a mere boy, who was coming down the mountain path into the town astride of a caribou. The boy was not struck by the bullet, but that was not the sergeant's fault. The little Filipino boy slid from the back of his caribou and fled in terror up the mountain side. Half a dozen shots were fired after him. The shooting now had attracted the villagers, who came out of their homes in alarm, wondering what it all meant. They offered no offense, did not display a weapon, made no hostile movement whatsoever, but they were ruthlessly shot down in cold blood—men, women, and children. The poor natives huddled together or fled in terror. Many were pursued and killed on the spot.

"Two old men, bearing between them a white flag and clasping hands like two brothers, approached the lines. Their hair was white. They fairly tottered, they were so feeble under the weight of years. To my horror and that of the other men in the command, the order was given to fire, and the two old men were shot down in their tracks. We entered the village. A man who had been on a sick-bed appeared at the doorway of his home. He received a bullet in the abdomen and fell dead in the doorway. Dum-dum bullets were used in that massacre, but we were not told the name of the bullets. We didn't have to be told. We knew what they were.

"In another part of the village a mother with a babe at her breast and two young children at her side pleaded for mercy. She feared to leave her home, which had just been fired—accidentally, I believe. She faced the flames with her children, and not a hand was raised to save her or the little ones. They perished miserably. It was sure death if she left the house—it was sure death if she remained. She feared the American soldiers, however, worse than the devouring flames."

The pitiful plea advanced since these sickening revelations of barbarity—that the Filipinos are even more savage and cruel in their punishment and torture than our soldiers have been—is no justification for the indelible stain that has been placed on our flag, or for the injury to civilization and to our nation in particular that has resulted from the action of certain officers and soldiers of our army in this brutal war of subjugation. In this connection it should be remembered that, when General Miles pointed out that this war had been conducted with marked severity, Secretary Root promptly and positively asserted that "it is not a fact that warfare in the Philippines has been conducted with marked severity; on the contrary, warfare has been conducted with marked humanity and magnanimity."

It would be interesting to know, in view of the documents that the Senate Committee has had the War Department turn over and the sworn testimony of witnesses, what President Roosevelt's Secretary of War would consider "marked severity."

Another incident that should tend to awaken every conscience-guided man and woman in the Republic is found in the brutal slaughter of Filipinos without trial by Major Waller. It will be remembered that the apologists for our present blood-and-iron, benevolent-assimilation policy insisted that the atrocities must have been occasioned by insanity. They pointed out the fact that the tropical sun, exposure, and the irregularities of army life wrought terrible havoc in the sanity of soldiers from the temperate zone. The trial of the Major, however, proves that the apologists were entirely at sea, as will be seen from the following despatch published in the *Boston Transcript* for April 8:

MANILA, April 8.—Major Littleton W. T. Waller of the Marine Corps, at to-day's session of the court-martial by which he is being tried on the charge of executing natives of Samar without trial, testified in rebuttal of the evidence given yesterday by General Jacob H. Smith, who commanded the American troops in the island of Samar. The major said General Smith instructed him to kill and burn; said that the more he killed and burned the better pleased he would be; that it was no time to take prisoners, and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. Major Waller asked General Smith to define the age limit for killing, and he replied: "Everything over ten." The major repeated this order to Captain Porter, saying: "We do not make war in that way on old men and women and children." Captain David D. Porter, Captain Hiram I. Bearss, and Lieutenant Frank Halford, all of the Marine Corps, testified corroboratively.

The defense requested that a subpoena be served on the adjutant-

general, demanding the production of the records of the massacre at Balangiga of the detachment of the Ninth Infantry, in order to refute the statement of General Smith to the effect that the attack on the troops was made according to the laws of war. The request was granted.

General Jacob H. Smith, military commander in Samar and Leyte, testified yesterday before the mixed court-martial which is engaged in trying Major Waller and Lieutenant Day on the charge of executing natives without warrant. General Smith praised the work of the marines, but his evidence indicated that Major Waller was governed only by the rules of war, particularly order 100. He had given Major Waller no special order concerning captured natives. He did not see Major Waller's order. If he had, he would have altered it, omitting the appeal to the marines to avenge their comrades who were massacred at Balangiga, the operations in which disaster, General Smith said, were according to the rules of war, with the exception of the mutilation of the dead. He would have also changed the instructions to punish treachery with death to an order to punish those guilty of treachery according to the summary law prescribed in order 100. General Smith added that he had misunderstood the telegram he had received regarding the execution of natives, and was not aware of the facts until General Chaffee, while making a tour of Samar, told him that he had been doing promiscuous killing. General Smith denied this, whereupon General Chaffee told him of the trouble in Basey.

Touching this subject the *Boston Globe*, a daily with strong imperialistic leanings, observes in its editorial leader of April 10:

Major Waller of our own army in the Philippines has testified in his own defense that General Smith instructed him to "kill and burn," telling him that "the more we killed and burned the better pleased he would be," and adding that there was "no time to take prisoners," as he intended to "make Samar a howling wilderness."

Moreover, every word of Major Waller's testimony is just as firmly secured by affidavits as was General Delarey's declaration. When Major Waller asked General Smith to define the age limit for killing, he replied: "Everything over 10." This testimony is corroborated by Captain David D. Porter, Captain Hiram I. Bearss, Lieutenant Frank Halford, and others. General Smith denies, indeed, that he told Waller to kill. But he admits that he told him "not to encumber himself with prisoners." It is also recalled that while in command at Samar General Smith issued a circular, in which he said: "Every native will henceforth be treated as an enemy until he has conclusively shown that he is a friend." He also declared that his policy would be "to wage war in the sharpest and most decisive manner," and that "a course would be pursued that would create a 'burning desire for peace.'"

General Smith excuses himself by asserting that his instruc-

tions were within the rules of civilized warfare, and that there must have been a misunderstanding. But it will be remembered that General Funston argued that the forging of papers, the deception and treachery practised, by which he was able to capture Aguinaldo, were also within the rules of civilized warfare. One thing must appear plain to right-minded men and women: that if such methods, deeds, and practises are "well within the rules of civilized warfare," then war is essentially demoralizing, debasing, and disintegrating in its influence over the moral nature, upon the development of which depend religion, ethics, civilization, and enduring growth—something that every man, whether Christian or not, who cares for the exaltation and ennoblement of manhood must relentlessly oppose as he would fight a deadly contagion.

We are glad to see that the horror and indignation of the nation have stirred up our tardy Administration, and that President Roosevelt has ordered investigations and court-martials; though we could wish that he had acted before the aroused conscience of the people practically forced action.

The fact that our soldiers are becoming familiar with despotic acts and savage practises, and that they see on every hand a disregard for the very things our fathers held most fundamental and essential to a republic—such as freedom of the press, respect for civil authority, and the rights of man—should be the subject of the gravest concern to thoughtful lovers of free government everywhere.

* * *

A GREAT MUNICIPAL VICTORY.

One of the most important elections held in recent years occurred in Chicago on April 1, at which time the voters of the second city in America declared overwhelmingly in favor of municipal ownership of street railways and of gas and electric-lighting plants; also in favor of the nomination of city officials by direct vote at primary elections. The results are highly significant in many particulars, not the least of which are:

(1) The emphatic affirmation of the contention of reformers, that all the people need is the opportunity to secure honest, wise, and effective legislation and competent leadership.

(2) The fact that the people want the referendum and are quick to employ it intelligently to express their sentiments.

(3) The fact that the corrupt government and the plunder of the taxpayers that are becoming a crying scandal and an overshadowing menace to free government can be promptly and effectively curbed, in spite of the combined influence of monopoly, the political boss, the party machine, and the trust newspaper.

(4) The fact that along this line of advance lies the quickest and surest method of rescuing the Republic from the grasp of predatory bands known as monopolies and trusts, whose rapacity is only equaled by their demoralizing and debauching influence on national and individual life.

The history of this notable victory is very significant. A year ago the Illinois Legislature passed an advisory legislation bill, very faulty in many respects, not the least of which was provision that a request for an advisory vote on any municipal or other question must be signed by at least twenty-five per cent. of the registered voters. This high percentage of course makes referendum voting highly improbable, even in the presence of grave municipal corruption and wrongs against the people. Still, it affords the possibility of voters being able to express their will; and under the energetic leadership of Daniel Cruice, a brilliant young lawyer of Chicago, who became the commander-in-chief of the referendum league, a vigorous campaign was inaugurated for the securing of a properly signed petition by the requisite number of 104,000 voters. The *Chicago American* also boldly championed the movement and fought for it with ability and persistency; 109,000 signatures were secured to the petition before the time limit expired; 30,000 signatures came in later and served to emphasize the widespread interest and determination of the electorate.

The opposition was not slow to act. The enormous streams of wealth that flow into the pockets of the few and should benefit the municipality were too precious to be menaced. So long as the present order prevailed the corporations, the press, and the political machine would dominate government, and the wealth of the municipal Golconda would continue to enrich the few and in a small way also fatten corrupt public opinion-forming influences and legislators. If the people were to be afforded the opportunity to express their sentiments all this would be changed. It would be next to impossible to corrupt a whole electorate; hence, a strenuous attempt was made to discredit enough signatures to bring the number below the requisite 104,-

ooo. The effort, however, failed. Then the capitalistic press began to assail the movement or to injure it by innuendos and that faint praise which is at best a weak apology. The *Chicago American*, however, dealt sledge-hammer blows for the referendum and in favor of the proposition to be voted upon; but the corporations counted upon the influence of the capitalistic press and the political machine so to sway the voters that either an insignificant referendum vote should be cast or the proposition should be negatived. But here they made precisely the same mistake as did the street-railway company of Boston when the celebrated referendum vote on the Tremont Street tracks was taken. The corporation had the active advocacy of the dailies enjoying the greatest circulation, and, in fact, were strongly opposed by only one paper of somewhat limited circulation, so they were quite confident of victory until the morning after election, when it was found that the voters of Boston had repudiated the monopoly's demand by over 25,000 majority.

In Chicago the result of the election was as follows: For municipal ownership of street railways, 124,594, or nearly 60 per cent. of votes for candidates; against, 25,987, or less than 13 per cent.; affirmative majority, 98,607. For municipal ownership of lighting plants, 124,190, or nearly 60 per cent. of total vote for candidates; against, 19,447, or about 9 per cent.; affirmative majority, 104,743. For nominations for city officers by direct vote of the people at primary elections, 125,082; against, 15,861; affirmative majority, 109,221.

Unfortunately, this strong and powerful demand of the people is not binding on those charged with the enforcement of the people's wishes. It is only advisory; therefore, its influence on Chicago politics will be indirect. It will, however, doubtless greatly encourage the friends of pure government and make corrupt politicians more wary; while the moral effect on the nation and city cannot fail to be of great importance. It is one of the first decisive victories in a great onward movement that is everywhere being felt in American municipal life. It shows the politicians that the people are at length becoming thoroughly awakened, and that neither the wealth of corrupt corporations, the political machine, nor the press will hereafter be able to stem the tide of an aroused electorate, which is day by day taking its ideas and opinions less and less from the daily press and the political bosses.

APPALLING REVELATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN ST. LOUIS.

The report of the Grand Jury sitting at St. Louis, Mo., and made public on April 5, is one of the most amazing exposés of the plundering of the cities and the debauching of officials through corrupt corporations seeking enormously valuable franchises that have ever been published. These revelations, with the exposure of corrupt practises in Philadelphia and New York made in recent years, speak of a deadly poison working in the political life of the nation, which, if not arrested at an early day, will destroy free government and demoralize citizenship beyond hope of rehabilitation. Americans must awaken from the lethargy that enthalls them, else our civilization will go the way of ancient Persia, Greece, and Rome.

The Grand Jury indicted several persons, and its report says:

"A far-reaching and systematic scheme of corruption has been carried on for years by members of the municipal assembly. These members form what are called 'combines' for the special purpose of holding prospective legislation until their demands in the way of money considerations are complied with.

"Instead of discharging the duties of office for the public good and in accordance with their oath, they become organized gangs for plunder, using their office to enrich themselves at the people's expense.

"Our investigation, covering a period of ten years, shows that with few exceptions no ordinance has been passed wherein valuable privileges or franchises are granted until those interested in the passage thereof have paid the legislators.

"No municipal corporation has ever had its most valuable franchises so recklessly and scandalously disposed of for a consideration which found its way, not to the city treasury, but into the itching palms of the public pilferers.

"The persons against whom indictments for bribe-giving and bribe-taking have been returned are but a small percentage of those whom inquiry convinces us deserve to wear the garb of convicts."

The report further asserts that the people of St. Louis have but a vague conception of the extent of the corruption and venality that have prevailed among the city's officials. It finds the conditions almost "too appalling for belief." So long as enormously valuable franchises that belong to the city are given to private corporations or turned over to them for a pittance, the city will not only be robbed of millions of dollars that should reduce taxes or build schools and libraries and otherwise benefit the public, but her officials will become corrupt and the moral ideal of the people will be lowered.

We have slept overlong. Direct legislation and municipal ownership will solve the vital public question. Awake! Organize! Agitate! Rest not until the victory has been won in spite of a sleeping daily press and the enormous pressure of corrupt corporations and party machines.

* * *

PROGRESS DEPENDENT ON FIDELITY TO ETHICAL IDEALS.

"Bad men," says Victor Hugo, "spring from bad things; hence, let us correct the things."

Now, in life there are certain basic or fundamental springs of action or guiding motives that determine the trend or course of conduct, and that carry with them blight or blessing in proportion as they move along the plane of right conduct or of low self-desire; that is, of desire that sacrifices the rights, the interests, and the happiness of others to the success of self, or that exalts materialistic aims above the demands of sound ethics or spiritual truth.

The great battles of the future will be fought between the basic ethical truths that have illumined the teachings of every great religion and philosophy, and the materialistic selfishness that has eaten the heart and soul out of every great civilization of the past, which exalts such demoralizing precepts as "The end justifies the means," and "Might makes right."

Here lies one of the most important duties for teachers and leaders of thought, and here is found a lesson of supreme importance for the young men and women of our age. The happiness and full-orbed development of all the people, no less than the majestic upward sweep of social and national life, wait on the recognition of the supremacy of the moral order, on the right of justice, freedom, and fraternity to a paramount place in the web and woof of individual and national life, and on the relegation to the rear of expediency whenever right is at stake.

* * *

A UNIQUE SOCIAL COMMUNITY.

All readers of *THE ARENA* are doubtless familiar with the marvelous tales of the Inca civilization of ancient Peru, brought to Europe by the conquering Spaniards—a civilization

in which, to use the words of a modern historian, "there was no such thing as a poor or discontented man, in which everybody worked, from the Emperor down, a reasonable length of time, at tasks fitted to their strength and their ability," and one that was in many respects incomparably superior to that of any Christian nation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But comparatively few people are aware of the fact that in the land of the ancient Incas is a small but flourishing social community that for about fifty years has been steadily growing in numbers and wealth.

In 1853 one Don Jose Rodriguez, a man of strong individuality, of considerable wealth, and possessing pronounced ideas along social and economic lines, headed a little band of sixty-six persons, all holding similar views, and founded a community on a large land grant that he had received from the Peruvian government on the Cototo River. As founder and leading spirit, Señor Rodriguez assumed the general direction of the infant colony, which, however, was soon reorganized into a compact social organization, conducted on lines as rigid and methodical as the great business enterprises of our land. The colony has steadily grown, its additions being largely from births, though many persons from without have found an asylum within its borders. The membership is not confined to Peruvians. Indeed, according to Dr. Bliss in his *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, its membership includes Americans, English, and Germans. Racial prejudices are present, however, as no Indian or negro is allowed to join the community. Others are welcomed on their presenting satisfactory proof of good character and upon payment of \$500. The colony up to 1895 had reached a membership of one thousand.

The week contains five working-days, Saturday and Sunday being left free to the members. The working-day is eight hours, but no member is compelled to work beyond four hours a day. Overwork receives additional remuneration. Food is distributed alike to all members of the community; but if one desires luxuries, or if he would dress in a more elaborate manner than his neighbors, he can supply himself with these extras by paying for them, the pay being readily earned if he is willing to work extra time. In speaking of this unique and little-known community, Mr. Bliss, in the above-mentioned work, observes:

"Lands, tools, and products are the property of the community, and all surplus products are sold abroad, the proceeds going to the common treasury. . . .

"The community is divided into departments, divisions, and sections. Each section chooses and may remove its own head, and heads of sections nominate division directors, who in turn choose department chiefs. These last are removable only by a majority vote of the community. They are, in effect, ministers of works, of education, trade, and health, those being the titles of the departments; and collectively they constitute a tribunal discharging duties elsewhere confided to ministers of justice and finance.

"The Department of Works looks after agriculture, stock-raising, mining, manufactures, and all public works. That of Education deals with schools, music, and the mechanic arts; that of Trade with exports, imports, and the distribution of products; that of Health with houses, hospitals, and young children. An hour's work is the unit of the financial system. . . .

"There is no marriage law. A man and woman live together in free union, and either may find another mate when tired of the arrangement. A woman at the approach of childbirth goes to a hospital and stays there with her child until it is weaned. Then she leaves it in the hospital to the care of trained nurses.

"From the hospital the child goes to a public school, where it lives night and day until grown to the age when work is exacted of all. Then the new member of the working community is set at whatever task his or her aptitudes, as developed at school, seem to point out as the proper one. The pay is the same for every kind of labor.

"Private houses at Buenos Amigos are plain, but airy. A large, common building is handsomely built of freestone and marble taken from the community's quarries. The streets are well made and clean, and an aqueduct to bring in water from the Cototo River is nearly completed. All these public works are carried on by the labor of the community, under the direction of the department. When one department has more workmen at its command than it needs they are turned over to such departments as are short of hands. Thus everybody is kept busy at least four hours a day, and as much longer as he will, with pay for overtime."

* * *

MUNICIPALISM AND CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND ALARM LONDON CAPITALISTS.

In England the municipalization of natural monopolies on the one hand and the rapid growth of the coöperative societies on the other have at last alarmed those who live by interest and speculation in stocks and bonds, as will be seen from the following extracts from a recent issue of *The Financier and Bullionist*, of London:

"Articles have appeared from time to time in *The F. and B.* calling attention to the serious extent to which the profitable employment of

capital in this country was menaced by hostile agencies—stealthy or overt. Endeavors have thus been made to galvanize capitalist interests out of their complacency, in view of what may happen. It has been pointed out, for example, that, while capital has been identifying the Socialist movement with silly processions and frothy gatherings at street corners, it has been slow to realize the tremendous Socialistic squeeze which is being applied to it per the medium of municipal undertakings. . . .

"Municipal enterprise, however, is but one form of pressure tending to very grave consequences. Another is the Coöperative Movement. It is no exaggeration to say that the capitalist interests of this country have been fatuously oblivious to the growth of coöperation—a growth in power and resources which is all the while more formidable though little realized by these threatened interests. Nor is it even an exaggeration to say that private capital is already between the hammer and the anvil of the two forms of Socialism mentioned—the municipal and the coöperative. It stands to reason that when the application of capital accumulations in one direction is prevented by municipal monopoly of great undertakings, and when, on the other hand, manufacture as well as distribution is largely passing under the control of coöperative societies, there is an ever-diminishing chance of even moderately profitable investment in home enterprises. Here, therefore, we have the antithesis of America's modern tendency. In America there is the tendency to combine capitalistic omnipotence with efficiency and, perhaps, cheapness; here the tendency is quite as notable to overwhelm capitalistic by coöperative enterprise. . . .

"The competition of coöperative societies, aggregated on a colossal scale, is formidable enough in distributive enterprise, as traders and investors in retail undertakings are painfully aware. But in other quarters there is a disposition to believe that, whilst coöperation may be formidable as a distributive agency, it is not likely to make any great headway in other directions—notably in respect of production. The comfortable sleep which that false lullaby is inducing may prove fatal. The Coöperative Society does not deal in half-pounds of butter over the counter. It operates on a gigantic scale, and adopts every expense-saving expedient. It is already so strong and so resourceful that the wonder is that private enterprise has not been crushed out of existence already. It has its own fleet of steamships plying to and from countries whose produce it imports. It has depots in European and American cities. And it is becoming a great home manufacturer. It has shoe and textile factories in different trade centers in England. Taking the English and Scottish wholesale societies together the total value of their production during 1900 was £4,165,030, or 19.4 per cent. of their sales. Such facts as these do not confirm the supposition that coöperative production—starting late compared with coöperative distribution—has been making contemptible progress. But that is not all. The volume of coöperative production in the United Kingdom is very much more than the £4,000,000 and over with which the wholesale societies are credited. Besides

the productive works of those societies there are societies exclusively devoted to production, and it is reckoned that the total value of coöperative production in this country now amounts to something like £12,000,000! If that be so, then the productive output of the wholesale societies—over £4,000,000, as stated—is just about one-third of the total."

The fact that the movement inaugurated at Rochdale sixty years ago by twenty-seven poor weavers has grown to have a membership of 1,700,000, and that it does a yearly business of over \$300,000,000, affords grounds for apprehension on the part of the class-conscious capitalists; while the splendid results that have followed the municipalization of natural monopolies by cities in Great Britain are bound to lead to the extension of these wise and prudent measures in other cities. Mr. J. B. Wallace, A.M., the thoughtful editor of *Brotherhood*, commenting on the alarm cry of *The Financier and Bullionist*, says:

"Municipal undertakings—such as gas-works, electric-lighting, water-works, tramways, and workmen's dwellings—have resulted in much advantage to the public; namely, in better and cheaper service, in wholesomer and pleasanter conditions, in shorter working-days for employees and sometimes in improved wages. To the humane citizen, whether wealthy or poor, all this is reason for rejoicing; but the unhappy capitalist who has allowed his humanity to be overlaid by his class-consciousness sees only that opportunities for capitalistic exploitation of the public are beginning to disappear. May such opportunities soon have passed away forever. That there are capitalists whose humanity and public spirit are stronger than their class-consciousness, and who work hard to improve the life-conditions of all their fellow-men, is one of the indications that men are essentially divine and that a unity of life is pressing forth to manifestation through them."

Private capitalism is in truth, as the editor of *The Financier and Bullionist* asserts, between the upper and the nether millstones. Two mighty movements, now only in their infancy, but destined rapidly to grow, are bearing down upon the feudalism of capital, which has already encompassed the virtual enslavement of the millions for the enrichment of the few—an enslavement demoralizing alike to all the people, and immoral in that it is in direct antagonism to the Golden Rule and the growing demands of Fraternalism.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO. By Ernest Crosby. Illustrated by Dan Beard. Cloth, 394 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, publishers.

A Book Study.

I.

In "Captain Jinks," Mr. Crosby has performed the difficult feat of writing an extended satire that holds the interest of the reader in a compelling way from the opening page to the closing sentence. This is doubtless due to a combination of causes, chief among which are the charming simplicity of the author's style, the timeliness of the subject, the fact that the volume abounds in palpable hits and bristles with brilliant and biting satire, and is full of grimly humorous situations, while a strong human heart interest pervades the work. Never before have the absurdity and essential criminality of the rôle that the Republic is to-day assuming been so vividly held up to the scorn of freedom and justice loving people as in this work. The author tears off the toggery of false pretense and pitilessly exposes the brutal greed, the lust and savagery that lurk underneath the shallow and sophistical claims of militarism and imperialism. The absurd reverence for authority which is the opportunity of despotism, the sanctimonious hypocrisy of a venal press, the brutal disregard for every sentiment of justice and humanity that dominates the modern spirit of materialistic commercialism, are all emphasized in such a way as to compel the reader to think.

There is about Mr. Crosby something of the combined spirit of Juvenal, Tacitus, and Rabelais. He possesses a strong and healthy intellect. He has not lost the power of initiative or of original thought. He is absolutely sincere and deeply in earnest. In addition to these vitally important qualifications he possesses the advantage afforded by a fine education; and this doubtless has led him to avoid the common error of those unskilled with the pen, seen in the employment of exaggerated language and the effort to complement biting sarcasm and keen satire with inflated verbiage. In this book the most telling home-thrusts are thrown off in a delightfully artless manner. "Captain Jinks" is a work that we believe is destined to hold a permanent place in the satirical literature of our language.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

II.

The personality of a man of such courage and conviction and keen mental acumen as are evinced by the author of "Captain Jinks" is interesting, especially at a time like the present, when arrogant authority is so rampant that the frank criticism of a pernicious military measure made before a committee of the United States Senate, at the request of the committee, by the head of the army, has so incensed the President that he seriously considers disgracing and retiring a brave and honest soldier who spoke from practical knowledge and uttered a warning the soundness of which must impress every thoughtful citizen who appreciates the despotic tendencies of modern bureaucratic rule.

Ernest Crosby is a son of the eminent New York divine, the Rev. Howard Crosby. On the day of his birth his father cast his vote for John C. Fremont for President of the United States. The boy was raised in a home where moral convictions were wholesomely nourished, but where there was little of that narrow-minded bigotry which warps the brain and dwarfs the soul. The youth had the advantage of the best educational influences afforded in our great metropolis. He was educated at Columbia College, and immediately after graduation took up the practise of law, and, like President Roosevelt, soon entered political life. Indeed, as has been pointed out, the early public careers of these two men were parallel in many ways. Mr. Crosby succeeded Mr. Roosevelt as the representative of the twenty-first district of New York City in the State Legislature; and he was for two years chairman of the Committee of Cities, the most important committee in the house. Three times he succeeded in carrying a high-license bill through the two houses, only to see it vetoed by Governor Hill. His experience in legislation, however, was a revelation to the young enthusiast. Here he found everywhere the death-dealing lobbies influencing legislation for selfish ends. Something of the unwelcome awakening of this epoch of his life may be gleaned from the following extracts from one of his poems, in which he boldly attacks the betrayers of the electorate:

Up to the State-House wend their way
Some scores of thieves elect;
For one great recompense they pray:
"May we grow rich from day to day,
Although the State be wrecked."

Up to the State-House climbs with stealth
Another pilgrim band,—
The thieves who have acquired their wealth,
And, careless of their country's health,
Now bleed their native land.

And soon the yearly sale is made
Of privilege and law;
The poor thieves by the rich are paid
Across the counter, and a trade
More brisk you never saw.

* * * * *

At last the worthless set adjourn;
 We sigh with deep relief.
 Then from the statute-book we learn
 The record of each theft in turn,
 The bills of every thief.

Now at a shameful scene pray look;
 For we who cursed and swore,
 Before this base-born statute-book,
 Whose poisoned source we ne'er mistook,
 Both worship and adore.

"For law is law," we loud assert,
 And think ourselves astute;
 Yet quite forgetful, to our hurt,
 That fraud is fraud and dirt is dirt,
 And like must be their fruit.

In 1889 President Harrison nominated Mr. Crosby for the important position of Judge of the Court of First Instance, in Alexandria. This nomination was promptly followed by an appointment by the Khedive of Egypt. It was practically a life position, but Mr. Crosby was far more than a brilliant young politician. From the first he was a conscience-guided man, incapable of rising to coveted heights if by so doing he would have to depart from his high ideals of justice and right. He was one of those too rare natures so happily characterized by Edwin Markham in these lines:

Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, "Thou must,"
 He will not say the unjust thing is just.

While in Egypt the young judge came under the influence of that great conscience force of our age—that austere prophet of sturdy morality, Count Tolstoy; and, seeing and feeling more than ever that civilization to-day imperiously demands that self-interest and personal aggrandizement be subordinated to the larger requirements of the race, that the higher law imposes a solemn trust on all who would be loyal to the higher self, he resigned his position, determined to devote his life to social reform and progress in his native land. He returned to America by way of Russia, that he might confer with the great iconoclast who insisted on taking Jesus seriously. This communion with Tolstoy only served to root and ground his recently formed determination. Since that day Ernest Crosby has been an apostle of justice, freedom, and altruism. In every fight he has been found on the side of righteousness and true civilization. Brave yet gentle, just yet generous, pitiless in the unmasking of corruption and evil yet tender and loving in his concern for the unfortunate, a brilliant scholar whose whole life-work is illumined by love and guided by enlightened conscience—he is one of the leading figures in a coterie of scholarly young men who to-day are fighting a magnificent battle for the fundamentals of free government, liberty, justice, and progress. Such, in a word, is the author of "Captain Jinks," and, whether we agree with his conclusions or not, no right-minded man can fail to respect and admire the nobility of character and the moral heroism exhibited in such a life.

III.

The story opens with a delightful description of a lovable little boy—a farmer's son, who is passionately fond of horses and indeed of all the domestic animals of the farm. He is six years old at the opening of the story, and as a birthday gift he secretly hopes he may receive a toy farm-yard. Instead, his father brings him a large box of gaily-colored lead soldiers, with movable bayonets and reversible guns. The officer wears a white plume, and is a miracle of color in red, blue, and gold. Still the child is bitterly disappointed with his gift, as he has never heard of soldiers until his father awakens his imagination with tales of war and exciting adventure.

"What are the bayonets for?" queries the lad.

"To stick into bad people, Sam," replies Colonel Jinks.

"And have the bad people bayonets, too?"

"Yes, Sam."

"Do they stick their bayonets into good people?"

"Oh, I suppose so. Don't bother me."

From this moment the child becomes more and more interested in soldiers. Later, when visiting the town near by, he witnesses the dress parade of the John Wesley Boys' Brigade belonging to the Methodist Church of the town, and the scene fires the youth with military ardor. He joins the brigade, and later enters "East Point." Here hazing and the absurd caste spirit so evident in army life are satirized in a brilliant and effective manner. At "East Point" the youth meets a "college widow" in the person of one Marion Hunter, and is completely captivated by the showy but shallow girl. With this episode the story takes on the interest of a love romance.

The life at the army school serves the author the purpose of laying the foundation for a powerful exhibition of the savagery lurking in militarism. As the story proceeds Mr. Crosby develops this idea in a strong, clear, and irresistible manner, and shows how essentially similar are the two.

While at the military school of East Point the Cubapino War breaks out, and the room-mate of the hero, one Cleary, convinces young Jinks that his dearest wish—that of becoming a hero—may be speedily realized if he enters the army. Cleary resigns from East Point and becomes a staff correspondent on the *Daily Lyre*, a "yellow" journal largely responsible for the war. His father is a large stockholder in the paper, and Cleary conceives the plan of booming his journal and helping along his friend by spread-eagle write-ups of the young man, who, through the influence of an uncle in the United States Senate, has already been appointed Captain. The young soldier is photographed in various attitudes before leaving for the front, in order to enable the *Daily Lyre* to make a sensation as soon as he distinguishes himself.

Before sailing, Captain Jinks makes the acquaintance of one "Jonas," a promoter, who, in the interest and employ of certain powerful commercial and predatory bands that had long exercised a sinister influence in political and business life, now proposes to form a trust or company

to exploit the islands as soon as they are conquered. The company is to be known as the Benevolent Assimilation Company, Limited. In this connection, events subsequent to the publication of the volume prove Mr. Crosby to have been a prophet—a fact thus pointed out by one writer:

Mr. Jonas, a trust organizer, is thus described on page 120:

"He is the greatest fellow I ever saw. Everything he touches turns to gold. He's got his grip on everything in sight on those blessed islands already. He's scarcely started and he could sell out his interests there for a cold million to-day. It's going to be a big company to grab everything. He's called it the 'Benevolent Assimilation Company, Limited'; rather a good name, I think, though perhaps 'Unlimited' would be nearer the truth."

Now comes the International Banking Corporation to take all exaggeration out of Mr. Crosby's burlesque, so far do the plans of the real organization transcend those of the imaginary.

As organized early in January, the International Banking Corporation is empowered, among other things, to "transact the business of merchants, manufacturers, miners, commission merchants, agents of every kind, shippers, builders, financiers, brokers and contractors, and concessionaires, in all the forms of any of said kinds of business; to engage in the general banking and trust business; . . . to engage in a general safe deposit and storage business; to construct public or private works outside of the State of Connecticut, and to operate the same; to construct, purchase, or sell vessels, and engage in the business of transportation by rail and by water outside of the State of Connecticut, and to carry on an express forwarding business outside of the State of Connecticut; to establish branches in any part or parts of the world."

Already the corporation has been designated by President Roosevelt as the collector and repository of the Chinese indemnity (\$25,000,000) which is due the United States.

At length the three friends, Captain Jinks, Cleary, and Jonas, embark for the seat of war. Thenceforth Captain Jinks appears as a composite hero—of the war in Cuba, the Philippines, and the military expedition in China. In a vivid manner and with keen satire and telling sarcasm the author depicts the hero in the stirring battle of San Diego, where he performs marvelous feats of daring and heroism, accounts of which his friend Cleary expects him to prepare later for *Scribbler's Magazine*, but which are now trumpeted forth to the world by the *Daily Lyre* with poster-type headings and enormous pictures illustrating the brave young leader of the volunteers in every conceivable position.

Next we find him in great peril. He is captured by a powerful band of savages; but here he convinces the leader that he and his companions are the true brethren of the captor and his people. This chapter is one of the most startlingly striking and effective as well as keenly satirical passages in the volume.

The life in the islands where the United States is engaged in subjugating people who for generations have fought for freedom, and to whom the Declaration of Independence is a powerful incentive in their struggle, is vividly described, even to the recent incident of the suppression of the Declaration in the islands as an incendiary document. Then comes the great military exploit by which the insurgent chief, Gomaldo,

is betrayed and tricked into the hands of Captain Jinks through forged documents and the assistance of traitors to the cause of the islands' independence. All the miserable and humiliating business, too well known to the world, is here pitilessly laid bare in its true light.

From the islands the scene shifts to the ancient empire of the Porsslanese, where the people have risen against those who insisted on forcing a foreign religion upon them. The Chinese campaign, with the malodorous conduct of a certain leading missionary, is here described by a master hand. The pages fairly bristle with the keenest satire. It is a wonderful arraignment of pseudo-Christianity that should be read by every American.

Not the least interesting or suggestive part of the volume is that which describes the war-lord Emperor and his delight at Sam's definition of a perfect soldier, when the latter says: "I beg your Majesty's pardon, but I do not think; I obey orders!"

The chapters connected with the active campaign in the islands and in Asia constitute a powerful arraignment of militarism and imperialism, relieved by humorous situations and scintillating with brilliant and biting satire.

At length the hero returns home, and here he is hailed with wild enthusiasm by a populace stirred to the highest pitch of excitement by the exaggerations of the *Daily Lyre*. Girls and women rush to the front whenever he appears to embrace and kiss the hero—the perfect soldier. On every hand is heard the popular new song:

"I'm Captain Jinks of the Cubapines,
The pink of human war-machines,
Who teaches emperors, kings, and queens
The way to run an army."

Everywhere Captain Jinks is hailed as a conquering hero, until *en route* east he reaches St. Louis. Here Marian meets him and insists on an immediate marriage to stop the promiscuous osculation, which has been very distasteful to her.

A sudden revulsion in public opinion comes after his marriage, and he soon finds that the fickle public is concerned with other gods. His spirit becomes broken, and he ends in an insane asylum, where he sits for hours playing with toy soldiers. "Harmless, perfectly harmless," says the keeper to Cleary, who goes to visit him.

"'Perfectly harmless,' repeated Cleary to himself, as he got into his carriage. "What an idea! A perfectly harmless soldier!"

The volume is handsomely printed and contains twenty-five telling drawings by Dan Beard. It has aroused the savage criticism of the imperialistic and military organs, and is being enthusiastically received by friends of peace, freedom, and justice; hence, a wide sale is assured. We regard it as one of the most timely and vital books of fiction of the new century.

FATHER MANNERS: A ROMANCE OF ST. ALMANAC'S CHURCH. By Hudson Young. Cloth, 206 pp. Price, \$1. New York: The Abbey Press.

This is a love story that ends happily and is treated in a somewhat unconventional style. Perhaps its greatest charm is found in the happy manner in which the author hits off the absurd tendencies of certain high churchmen of America and England, who are sedulously seeking to inject the spirit of the medieval Church into the modern religious body, when, indeed, they do not strive to lead their congregations over to the Roman communion. The work is rich in delightful humor and pleasing satire, and is pervaded by a genial spirit that makes it pleasing and restful reading. It is a volume that will be especially enjoyable to those actively opposed to the effort to realize in the twentieth century something of the monasticism of the Middle Ages.

THE BUILDER AND THE PLAN. A Text-book of the Science of Being. By Ursula N. Gestefeld. Cloth, 282 pp. Price, \$2 net. Pelham, N. Y.: The Gestefeld Pub. Co.

For many years the author of this work has been prominently identified with the New Thought movement as writer, teacher, and practitioner. Her clientele has steadily grown, owing largely to her success as a healer. In the present work Mrs. Gestefeld has in the course of forty-four chapters sought to present a comprehensive outline of what to her is the truth touching the philosophy of life, or being. The author became a student of Mrs. Mary B. G. Eddy about eighteen years ago. She states that she found in these teachings much that was bread to her hungry soul; and yet, while gratefully acknowledging the benefit of the instruction received from the author of "Science and Health," she did not find in the philosophy enunciated a full measure of satisfaction. Says Mrs. Gestefeld:

"Earnest and honest questioning legitimate to the declarations made failed to elicit answers that reconciled contradictions. This failure to present a science while using that term for the teaching compelled further seeking on the part of one who would rather know than believe. For seventeen years I have prosecuted the search for what was lacking, impelled by the sentiment, 'Truth for authority, not authority for truth,' with results that have made me doubly thankful it was my privilege to have been taught by Mrs. Eddy as a preparation for the exploration of a previously unknown country.

"This exploration has led to the formulated system of thought named 'The Science of Being' that is the legitimate and necessary successor to 'Christian Science'; for the fundamental propositions of that teaching lead directly to what is herein set forth, and the conclusions are positively essential to the integrity of the propositions. If they do not appear necessary to Christian Scientists it must be because they fail to see either logical continuity or the need of it in order to establish a science."

Mrs. Gestefeld and Helen Wilmans are the most radical thinkers among the leaders of the modern Mental Science movement. Both were

at one time students of Christian Science, and each found its philosophy incomplete. Their views are divergent, but each has been remarkably successful as a healer, and their work appeals especially to those who are strongly individualistic and who have broken away from the Christian Church, or over whom the teachings of Christianity, as such, have ceased to exert a binding influence.

Charles Brodie Patterson, on the other hand, adheres more closely than any leader in the New Thought movement with whom I am acquainted to the teachings of Jesus and his disciples. Hence, he exerts a specially strong influence on Christians who hunger for the larger religion of life and the deeper faith in God and His power which Jesus taught, but which the present-day Church has neglected. Mr. Patterson works within the Church and seeks to quicken all the higher and deeper religious energies of those who, more or less nominally, bear the name of Christians.

The New Thought movement is a broad, individualistic awakening, and its teachings are appealing to thoughtful men and women of almost every shade of belief and conviction.

Mrs. Gestefeld's work will doubtless appeal to a very large number of thoughtful students. It contains much thought that is profoundly suggestive and stimulating, though at times one could wish that the author had been a little more lucid in the expression of her views. Metaphysical thought at best appeals to the modern mind, trained under the influence of physical scientists and with a strongly materialistic bias, as being very abstract. Hence, its presentation should be accompanied by numerous illustrations, and in other ways it should be made as clear as possible to the reader. This point, it seems to me, our author has at times overlooked. While many readers will not agree with much that is presented, no one can peruse its pages without having his thought stimulated and his spiritual horizon broadened.

CLAUDIA. A Story, by Mrs. Marion Todd. Cloth, 140 pp. Price, 75 cents. Published by the author, Springport, Mich.

This is a pure, wholesome love story, told in very simple language. There is comparatively little action, and the heart interest concerns a beautiful and highly sensitive girl and two young men who are devotedly attached to each other—the one a clergyman, of broad and helpfully practical ideals; the other a skeptic, who possesses large wealth but who in groping after happiness and satisfaction of spirit finds it in making all his employees profit-sharers, and in other ways seeking to augment the happiness of and secure a wider measure of justice for those who come within the radius of his influence. The heroine is somewhat of a sensitive, and the story is full of the larger view of life, of duty, and of responsibility that marks the progressive thinkers of the present day. It is a restful and interesting story, possessing the merit of a pleasant ending.

Mrs. Todd has written several valuable social and economic works

that have enjoyed wide circulation and have helped in a large way to enlighten the people on many of the great present-day political and social problems. Among these works, "The Railways of Europe and America" is probably the strongest. "Claudia" is preëminently a sweet and simple story of youth and love. The vital thought that is woven into its pages nowhere interferes with the interest of the romance.

THE DELSARTE SYSTEM OF EXPRESSION. By Genevieve Stebbins. Cloth, 507 pp. Price, \$2. New York: Edgar S. Werner Publishing & Supply Co.

This work is probably the most comprehensive and lucid exposition of the Delsarte System that has appeared. Its author is recognized as the greatest living exponent of the system. She has given her life to the elucidation of the work, and her labors have been eminently successful. Besides an interesting address from an unpublished manuscript of Delsarte, the volume contains twelve philosophic and descriptive chapters and twenty-two lessons, the whole forming an indispensable hand-book for those desiring to understand and employ the system. There are over thirty beautiful reproductions of ancient masterpieces of sculpture and numerous charts and drawings illustrating the text. Those who wish to grow in grace and physical perfection, as well as actors, orators, singers, and other persons who appear before the public, will find in this volume much that will be helpful.

MARRIED IN THE MAKING. A Story, by Lydia Kingsmill Commander. 22 pp. Printed on deckle-edge paper, with ornamental paper cover. Price, 25 cents. New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton Street.

This short story is one of the strongest and most virile contributions to present-day literature that we have read in years. It is a tragic story in which the author drives home a tremendous truth with startling force and directness. It has all the strength and vividness of the best work of Tolstoy or Gorki, while being wholly free from coarseness, morbidity, or the offensive naturalism that characterizes so much of the writing of many modern master minds who deal with delicate subjects.

The subject-matter concerns a lust-begotten child, the fruit of low animal gratification on the part of the father. It came undesired even by the mother, and its life emphasized in a tragic way the result of an existence cursed by a father's lust and a mother's loathing even before it saw the light of day.

Mrs. Commander has succeeded in the very difficult task of compressing into twenty-two pages a strong problem story, which is as compelling in its influence as a long novel. It is at once a fine piece of literature and a valuable contribution to vital ethical discussions.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE Twenty-seventh Volume of THE ARENA closes this month with an issue of rare excellence. While timely topics of varied interest and authoritative treatment, combined with a most liberal and progressive policy, are characteristic of every number, it is seldom that our readers are favored with an array of contributions that surpass in attractiveness the table of contents presented herewith.

As THE ARENA is preëminently an American magazine, the place of first importance is given to Judge Parks's paper on our unfortunate dealings with the Filipinos. The ghastly reports of our military operations in the East that are proving a daily shock to the American conscience, regardless of party affiliations, are increased in poignancy by the revelations of our contributor as to the needlessness of the war that has entailed the Philippine responsibility upon the Republic. The author is a veteran jurist and a life-long Republican. He was an intimate friend of President Lincoln, was appointed associate justice of the supreme court of New Mexico in 1878, and transferred to the supreme bench of Wyoming in 1882, and is the author of "The Great Trial of the Nineteenth Century," one of the strongest anti-imperialistic books that have yet appeared.

Judge Parks's contribution, read in the light of Mr. Flower's opening editorial in this number, is the most powerful and conclusive arraignment of our colonial and military exploits that any periodical has had the courage to publish. It will be followed, in our next issue, by a symposium on the same subject. Among the contributors will be President Miller of Ruskin College, Prof. Thomas E. Will, A. M., the Rev. R. E. Bisbee, Ernest Crosby, and Bolton Hall. This topic is now uppermost in the public mind, as the Democratic party seems to be concentrating upon anti-imperialism as a dominant issue.

The symposium in the current number on "The Late Cecil Rhodes" is of unique interest, as one of the contributors was for years a close business associate of the great financier

whose operations have had so vital an effect in shaping British policies in South Africa.

Editor Patterson's interview with Mr. Penrose, of the Salt Lake *Deseret News*, on subjects relating to "Mormonism," so called, is the first authentic statement presented to Eastern readers concerning the aims, hopes, and practises of the followers of Brigham Young. It will interest both legislators and religionists, as it contains the utterances of a representative Mormon in touch with the leaders of the sect. The "Conversation" to appear in our next issue will relate to "The Present Political Outlook," in which Eltwed Pomeroy, A. M., will give his always interesting and suggestive views.

That other churches have their troubles is seen in the Rev. Robert E. Bisbee's paper, "An Echo of the Inquisition," in this number. The Methodist Church is numerically the largest Protestant denomination in America, and one of the largest in the world; yet the Professor Pearson episode threatens to cleave the church asunder, driving the liberals into one camp and the orthodox into another. Dr. Bisbee is himself a leading representative of the more liberal wing of Methodism, and in his essay has most effectively ranged the authoritative utterances of the old line against the position and views of Dr. Pearson. His conclusions point rather ominously to the future of creedal conservatism, but we are pleased to grant space to an impartial presentation of both sides of this question—so vital to religious progress.

A peculiar and timely interest attaches to Mr. Bailie's article, "The Ancient Working People," by reason of the death at Yuma, Ariz., only two months ago, of C. Osborne Ward, on whose remarkable book, "The Ancient Lowly," the contribution in this issue is based. Mr. Ward was a noted linguist and archæologist. He was translator to the Federal Bureau of Labor at Washington for twenty years, and in 1868 was associated with Charles Darwin in some problems upon which the great naturalist was engaged. Mr. Ward made several journeys to the Orient in quest of material for his historical work, having visited Palestine, Egypt, Rome, and other places where inscriptions, monuments, and other data of the ancient working people were to be found.

In addition to the valuable papers already announced for publication in the July ARENA, we would mention the following: "Socialism in Ancient Israel," by Adam Rosenberg; "Evolution and Optimistic Politics," by William H. Morrell, and "As a Man Thinketh," a story of New Thought significance by Marie F. Giles, which will be accompanied by other features of literary interest and educational importance.

J. E. M.

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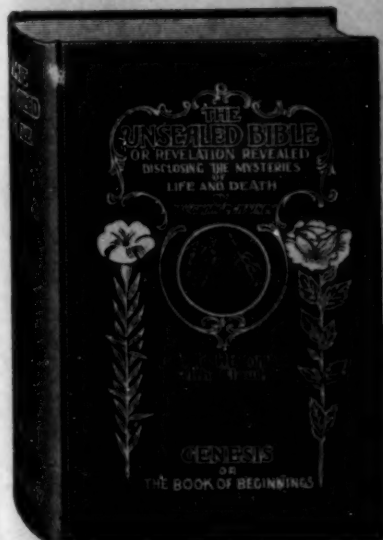
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